FREE WORLD

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devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

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EDITORIALS

The Moscow Pact—Dawn of a Free World

THE signing of the Moscow Pact between the great powers which have a stake in an orderly and free postwar world will probably prove to have been, along with the smashing success of the vast Russian offensive against the Germans, one of the two major events of 1943. Indeed there was more than a symbolic meaning in the fact that the Pact was signed as the Russian offensive was mounting to a climax, and within its framework. And this for two reasons. First, a Russia that has almost wholly freed itself from the invader's hold has now rejoined and been readmitted into diplomatic cooperation with the Western democratic powers. Not for a quarter-century has this cooperation been as full or close as it is now. And second, the mounting tempo of the Russian victories, with the Russian spearheads moving rapidly toward the Balkans and toward Central Europe, has made imminent all the problems that come in the wake of the liberation of the so-called *Festungs-Europa.*

It was to provide a machinery and an approach for these problems, which could in turn be transformed into a more permanent machinery of peace, that the Moscow Conference met. Its success has been a shattering blow to Axis morale, a Doomsday warning to Hitler's puppet states, a turning-point in the attitude of neutrals. For much of this success credit is due to the three Foreign Ministers and to the heads of their states. But even more, the Pact is the expression of an overwhelming public opinion among the common people all over the United Nations world, which has seen that all free nations have common enemies, common dangers and common stakes in the future.

What is best about the Pact is that it is not merely an expression of pious international sentiments. It contains substantial commitments: on common action in the surrender of the enemy; on Austria and Italy; on the punishment of war criminals; on the transition period between an armistice and a formal peace settlement; and, above all else, on working toward the creation of a postwar structure of international order and authority. Since America is the only one of the signing powers where there is a serious separation between the executive and the legislature in treaty-making, the last of these commitments was greatly strengthened by the passage in the Senate of the revised Connally Resolution, which embodies the language of the Pact and specifically endorses it.

We in FREE WORLD cannot but be greatly heartened by an event that so crucially embodies the point of view for which FREE WORLD has been working. The world is emerging out of the dark tunnel of fragmented purposes and obscure national interests, into the dawn of common international action for a democratic way of life everywhere.

But those who are fighting for a free world must remember that this is only its dawn and not its high noon. Once started on the right road the United Nations must now recognize that a long distance still remains to

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travel before a relatively secure goal has been reached. Although the Chinese Government signed the final statement, China was not an integral part of the deliberations, and the machinery for grappling with the postwar problems of the Far East still remains to be fashioned. There remain also all the tasks of forming an integrated United Nations Council, of creating the judicial machinery for settling disputes, of determining the nature of the sanctions to be used in enforcing international decisions.

These are, of course, a long way ahead. But the speed and the certainty with which they will be achieved will depend on two factors: first, on how genuinely and intently the peoples of the United Nations fashion an *international democratic will* which can serve as a support and a conscience for the acts of their governments; second, on the clarity with which the great powers recognize that there can be no lasting political or economic settlements except with governments which express not the feudal and oligarchical past in each country that is liberated but its living and fiery democratic potential.

Paris Speaks to Algiers

NOVEMBER 9 will be an important date in the history of French resistance. Forty-eight hours before the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Armistice the representatives of the underground, who had arrived in Algiers recently in great numbers to participate in the work of the Consultative Assembly, succeeded in making their views prevail. For a long time these views have been expressed in all the newspapers published secretly in France. The resistance movement, from the Rightists to the Leftists, had been unanimous in demanding that General de Gaulle become the single political head of the Committee of National Liberation, with General Giraud in command of the Army. The underground newspapers pathetically insisted that General Giraud break away from all the turncoats of Vichy.

On March 2, 1943, *Resistance,* one of the earliest of the Paris underground papers, said, "In the close union between Fighting France and the France of the Resistance Movements the nation finds its best opportunity for reconstruction as well as liberation. De Gaulle represents the tie between them."

All the changes taking place in Algiers during the past months must be considered from this angle. To establish the close union mentioned by *Resistance* (which continues to be published although the Gestapo shot all the original members of its staff) it was imperative to eliminate survivals from the past.

This date, November 9, represents the culmination of a political evolution started in Algiers under the influence of the underground. The changes made in the composition of the Committee of National Liberation will strengthen its position vis à vis France, which sent qualified representatives to Algiers. It is urgently important that the Allies view with favor this reinforcement of the Committee of National Liberation, which is acting in close collaboration with the underground; for this unification of anti-nazi forces will help the Allies on the day when they invade France. In no case should the Allies consider these changes as evidence of disapproval directed against any of them. Men who are new arrivals in Algiers—for example Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie or Henri Queuille—have many friends in the Anglo-Saxon world and

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have always been known as staunch supporters of a common policy with Great Britain and the United States.

Ever since 1940 Henri Queuille, a member of several French cabinets; Emmanuel d'Astier, a journalist, from a younger generation; André le Troc-quer, counsel to Léon Blum at the Riom trials, have contributed all their energies to the fight against the invaders.

Through the voice of the representatives of the underground, now members of the Committee of National Liberation, Paris speaks to Algiers; France speaks to the world. The time has come for France to take its place in the family of the United Nations—as an equal partner.

Education in the United Nations Armies

ALMOST thirty million soldiers are at present mobilized under the flags of the various United Nations. One-fourth of them are now in the midst of battle while the others are being trained day and night for the big showdown with the Axis Armies.

No one has any doubt as to the political significance of the beliefs and ideas of these men in the period immediately following the war. It is of the utmost importance to create a counterpart to the necessarily strict discipline of army life. This counterpart should be a vast educational program of study of democratic principles—a program which must go much further than the feeble attempts thus far made.

An educational program for the armies would be of immense immediate value to the war effort. It would strengthen the solidarity of the United Nations and, above all, it would give the individual soldier a more affirmative approach to the war, thereby making him a better fighting man. Apart from its immediate value to the war effort, such a program could create a truly pro-democratic and pro-United Nations sentiment in our armies.

There is no use pretending that a gigantic educational program is impossible during a war. On the contrary there are plenty of opportunities, from the moment a soldier reaches his reception center to the day when he leaves for a fighting area. There are thousands of dull, empty hours in which the soldier has nothing to do. The empty hours could be used for discussion, for lessons in geography and history, sociology and economics. If those lessons and discussions are made interesting enough, and there is no reason why they should not be, the majority of the men would take part in them voluntarily.

This is a task which could best be handled by the United Nations as a whole and would be an excellent complement to the recently formed United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It would mean the creation of a special educational department of the United Nations. Such a department would work with the various general staffs, would help explain the common interests of all countries fighting under the United Nations flags. Tens of thousands of intellectuals and educators of all nationalities, the splendid refugee elements, could be given temporary or limited assignments. The work being done in the armies could then be expanded to other social sectors and would lay the foundations for a great universal educational effort after the war.

This task is of the utmost importance and urgency. Only an active, dynamic

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and fighting democracy can wipe out the chauvinism, racism and anti-labor sentiments which still persist and thus create a favorable atmosphere for the triumph of those principles on behalf of which this war is being fought.

The Fuehrer at the Munich Beer Hall

THIS year, on the twentieth anniversary of the unsuccessful Munich putsch, a new Fuehrer addressed the German people. Gone are the days when he exulted in his victories and asserted that his achievements would last a thousand years. This year he is a man whose back is against the wall—who beseeches the Germans to hold at all costs. His mouth filled with threats against the "criminals who are hoping for an Allied victory," he asks the homefront to marshall the last reserves of strength. By the very intensity of his denial that Germany will collapse he admits to the world that this eventuality is in the minds of millions of Germans.

The Fuehrer speaks of "the few hundreds of criminals'" permeated with the spirit of 1918. But the newspapers of the great German Reich reflect the extent to which the criticism of the High Command and the Nazi party has spread throughout Germany, compelling Himmler to strengthen his police force in all the large cities. Recently the Special Court in Stettin, in sentencing a man to three years imprisonment for the spirit of criticism revealed in his conversation, stressed the fact that because this man had two sons at the front his punishment was milder than it should have been. The Court said that the man "behaved just like the political mice who undermined morale on the homefront in 1918 and stabbed Germany in the back." Like the Stettin judges, Hitler has evoked the ghost of 1918—the ghost that haunts his nights and that he cannot exorcise.

This latent pessimism has pervaded even the Army and the Navy. The crews of six U-boats in Oslo recently are said to have refused to sail and fifteen hundred officers and men are incarcerated in the Aakershus fortress. The German officers captured at Stalingrad and now exhorting their compatriots over the Moscow radio to put down their arms are another indication of the new spirit running through the German Army. Now that the Allies have begun an intense bombing of the industrial districts of the Reich tens of thousands of ammunition workers have disappeared. Repeated warnings and threats have failed to bring them back to work. Acts of sabotage are reported from the locomotive works at Floridsdorf and from the "East Mark" aircraft works at St. Polten and Wiener Neustadt.

Of course the Gestapo is still a powerful terror-organization and, as Winston Churchill pointed out in his latest speech, the Allies should not underestimate the strength of the nazi war machine. But there is something rotten in the Third Reich. This something rotten explains the last sentence uttered by a disillusioned Hitler—words which D.N.B. deleted from its home broadcasts:

> If the German people despair they will deserve no better than they get. If they despair I shall not be sorry for them if God lets them down.

We are far from the millenarian Reich of which the Fuehrer has heretofore been so sure.

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by ***ERNEST K. LINDLEY***

IT would be impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm with which the Moscow agreements have been received in Washington. Agreements one-fourth, or even one-tenth, as comprehensive would have been considered a handsome result. The actual achievement surpassed all expectations in official quarters here.

On his return Cordell Hull was given such a welcome as no Secretary of State of the United States ever before had experienced. Prime Minister Churchill's words, "that gallant old eagle, Mr. Hull, who flew so far on a strong wing," said eloquently what many in Washington felt about the 72-year-old statesman who on his first trip by air had flown 26,000 miles and brought home substantially everything that he sought. The tendency in Washington, as this is written, is to ascribe the success of the Moscow Conference to Mr. Hull. This, doubtless, is a parochial view. The Russians could not have been persuaded by any degree of eloquence or sincerity to subscribe to policies contrary to their own conception of their own interests. But unquestionably Mr. Hull is a very persuasive man, a mixture of saint and earthy backwoodsman. His earnestness and tenacity have often overcome many apparently insuperable obstacles.

He was eager to have the opportunity to dispel accusations from some of the American Leftists that he is anti-Soviet. These charges, wholly without foundation, had been revived by the recent resignation of Sumner Welles as Under-Secretary of State. A portion of the Leftist press suddenly adopted Sumner Welles, a career diplomat whose genuine liberalism had been unrecognized in those quarters for some ten years. Now, with no less disregard for fact, a number of Rightist commentators are using Hull's success at Moscow and the misguided anti-Hull diatribes of the Leftists to belittle Welles.

The truth is that there never was any ideological difference, or even any serious difference, between Hull and Welles or between either of them and President Roosevelt about the organization of the peace. They thought essentially alike and exchanged ideas so often that what any one of them said could be taken as official policy. Welles has a quicker and more exact mind than Hull and a greater knowledge of history and of world affairs. He never swerved from the belief that the German-Soviet pact of 1939 would be broken and that eventually Russia would find, or be forced to find, its rightful place as a collaborator with the United States and Britain. He gave extended thought to the problem of combining a concert of the great powers (including

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China) with a world-wide organization of peaceloving nations. The Moscow agreements were quite as much his, in substance, as they were Hull's. But equally at least, if not more so, they were Roosevelt's.

ROOSEVELT has been and is the principal architect of American foreign policy. A magazine article recently published made it appear that Hull was responsible to a large degree for our resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1933. The fact is, as I know from my own notes covering that period, that Roosevelt had decided before his first inauguration, and even before he invited Hull to become Secretary of State, to use the first propitious moment to end an anomalous situation. When the time came the President asked Hull for an opinion and Hull approved; but Hull was out of the United States, attending the Montevideo Conference, while Roosevelt conducted the negotiations leading to the resumption of diplomatic relations.

I have indulged in this diversion only to correct the distortions of those who have permitted themselves, for personal or other reasons, to become extreme partisans of Hull or Welles. Both men have made immensely valuable contributions. Hull carries the greater weight with the American public and in Congress. The results of the Moscow Conference happily clear him of wholly unjust insinuations. But those who have had access to all three men know that on the critical or close questions of American policy it is Roosevelt who makes the decisions.

NOW to get on with the Moscow agreements. A kindly but slightly cynical observer who was present at the airport at which Hull landed on his return from Moscow said, "I hope this isn't another 'peace in our time' hoax." Hull himself was careful not to exaggerate the achievements at Moscow. He spoke of them as a foundation on which the great powers and the nations of the world as a whole could, if they would, build an enduring structure, rather than as a completed monument. That certainly is the correct view. The problems to be solved are numerous and difficult. The dangers of a division among the major powers, without whom there can be no world-wide system of security, remain and may be greater after the war has been won than they now are.

But, in the considered view of high Washington officials, the Moscow agreements cover everything essential. First, they remove the last suspicion that any of Germany's principal adversaries will make a separate peace. Second, in the Joint Four-Nation Declaration the fundamentals for an enduring peace are clearly set forth. Third, temporary machinery of collaboration is set up.

China's inclusion in the basic Declaration was a pleasant surprise. Although recognizing that China is not a first-class power by normal standards, Washington, looking ahead a generation or two, had insisted that the cornerstone of world collaboration should be a four-power instead of a three-power pact.

The agreement to establish "at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security," fulfilled another requirement of the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration. This clause, the most far-reaching of the Moscow agreements, was plucked out and incorporated in the Connally Resolution which the United States Senate adopted by a vote of 85 to 5 (90 to 6, counting members absent but declaring their positions).

The creation of a European Advisory Commission of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States and of a more inclusive advisory council for matters relating to Italy clearly indicated that the postwar political and economic problems of Europe are to be settled by collaboration rather than on a sphere-of-influence basis. But what about the western boundaries of Russia? The United States has never recognized the Soviet boundary extensions of 1939-41 as valid. But it has consistently held that these should not be discussed prior to the organization of a general European peace. Ideologically the Washington view was based on the Atlantic Charter. Pragmatically it was based on the belief that if Germany were disarmed and kept disarmed by continuous inspection and policing, the

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Russians would be less apprehensive about their strategic frontiers.

AT this writing I do not know what may have been said informally at the Moscow Conference about the western boundaries of Russia but it was not Mr. Hull's intention to settle these matters. In this, his judgment and the President's differed sharply from the British, who apparently believed that the Russians would not talk larger questions until they had been relieved of all doubts about the attitude of the two Western powers toward the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Hull felt that these more detailed matters could be adjusted satisfactorily if the great powers could agree on the general structure of the peace. He went to get an agreement on the essentials, not to bargain. His view—forcefully set forth by Assistant-Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr., some months ago—is that in the era of the bomber there is no such thing as a secure strategic frontier: the only security is in a concert of power among the peace-loving nations capable of preventing or suppressing any powerful aggression.

Hull relieved the Russians of any lingering suspicion they may have had that American policy contemplated the erection of a wall of buffer states against them. He could have left no doubt, because he himself has no doubt that his objective is a concert and not a balance of power.

Did the Moscow agreements meet with general approval in the United States? As to that, there is hardly room for doubt. The Senate promptly and overwhelmingly endorsed the strongest clause. Probably it would have approved the agreement in total, by formal vote, if it had not been jealous of its own prerogatives, fearful lest it might waive its constitutional right to approve treaties by a two-thirds vote. The Connally Resolution, as adopted, should be judged by its substance rather than by its exact wording. Its acceptance was forced by public opinion. Prior to the Moscow agreement the Senate had lapsed into a sterile debate between those who backed the original Connally Resolution and those who advocated a stronger and more specific declaration. Partly because of timidity, partly because of hair-splitting, the Senate missed its chance to show leadership. But in the end it fell into line behind the main principles embodied in the Moscow agreements. This was no more than a ratification of an historic turn in American opinion.

It is generally assumed in Washington that one of the logical sequences to the Moscow Conference will be the long-postponed meeting of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. In view of the progress made at Moscow it probably is not essential. But Roosevelt, who has never met Stalin, is keen to establish personal relations and Churchill has testified publicly as to the value of such relations.

WASHINGTON was relieved by the indications that Stalin, at last, has begun to realize the importance of the American and British contributions to the common victory. As this column had noted previously, Russian ignorance of ocean warfare, of the logistics of overseas invasions and of the techniques and costs of strategic bombing, had been an obstacle to understanding. The photographic evidence of the effectiveness of the heavy bombers of the RAF and the American Army Air Forces evidently made an impression in Moscow. Apparently, also, Stalin was reassured by the detailed reports submitted to him concerning American-British preparations for the invasion of Europe from the West. Of their substance he had been informed immediately after the Quebec Conference.

The positions accorded to France, Greece and Yugoslavia in the advisory commission for matters concerning Italy is regarded in Washington as testimony that the smaller nations will be given a voice in the determination of questions within their own regions. Certainly it is anticipated here that France will play an important part in the reorganization of Europe. Yet it would be misleading to predict that France will come to be regarded as a partner of the Big Four in the organization of the world generally.

It is realized in Washington that the accumulation of distrust between Russia and the West cannot be dissipated in a day or in a two-week conference. But it is felt that an excellent beginning has been made and that the comprehensiveness of the Moscow agreements proves that the basic decision to collaborate has been made.

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THE WAR CRIMINALS AND THE FUTURE

by *Sigrid Undset*

THE promise of the Moscow Declaration that this time the war criminals will be punished for the murders and atrocities committed in all countries invaded by the Germans must certainly be hailed with feelings of relief and joy by every man, woman and child in the countries that have been occupied and still are occupied by Hitler's armies of soldiers and civilian workers.

We remember what happened after the last war. No doubt the stories told about German atrocities in Belgium and occupied France were in many instances spurious, sometimes exaggerated, and things that really had happened in one place were told of many places. Nevertheless the core of truth behind the rumors was amply sufficient to have justified a thoroughgoing investigation of all rumors. When I was in Holland in 1928 I talked with inhabitants of Maastricht who had been eyewitnesses to the burning and the shootings in Dinant just across the frontier in Belgium on one of the first days of the invasion in 1914—some of these people had gone to Dinant to try to save their own relatives. The treatment, for instance, of the Belgian girls and boys who were sent into occupied France to do forced labor would also have borne investigation. But not only was nothing done about it. Because the stories about German atrocities were never proved, a conviction was created in the former Allied nations that they had been disproved. Pacifists, people reacting from the emotional riots of wartime, pro-Germans within the Allied nations, the Germans themselves, cooperated to this end. These stories were never disproved, of course; but because it was a fact that the Germans had not indulged in a wholesale cutting-off of the hands of Belgian babies they got the credit for being innocent of all that had been said about their brutality and ruthlessness. It is a good thing to have been promised that this time no fear of trampling on the pink little toes of the rattlesnake, or ruffling the white wings of the old pig, or offending the Germans' sense of honor, will prevent the Russians or the British or the Americans from pursuing the war criminals to the uttermost ends of the earth.

The proceedings planned—to send the criminals back to the countries where they committed their crimes and to let the Poles and the Greeks and the Yugoslavians and the Frenchmen and the Belgians and the Netherlanders and the Danes and the Norwegians punish them according to the laws of their own lands—is also gratifying. Nothing is said about the most monstrous of German crimes—the murder of a million European Jews under circumstances of insane and perverse cruelty. It goes without saying, though, that the men and women guilty of perpetrating this mass murder will not escape from justice, wherever they may have to face trial and before whatever tribunal.

The murders and the atrocities committed against German dissenters inside Germany should also be punished, but by whom it seems difficult to say. The pre-Hitlerite system of justice in Germany has been destroyed so completely that it will probably be impossible to reconstruct it into anything like a working structure. The judiciary system of nazism we are pledged to destroy. It seems to me certain that a long-time occupation of Germany by the United Nations will be a necessity, to prevent the defeated Germans from turning their own country into a shambles which would make the Germany after the last war (the Germany of partisan warfare, street assassinations and Fehme murders) look like kindergarten. And it will also be necessary to render some sort of protection to the saner elements within Germany whilst they try to build up some kind of order and reinstate a rule of something like what we in our countries mean by justice.

One of the most important books that this war has provoked is, in my opinion, Dr. Richard M. Brickner's *Is Germany Incurable?* Even before the first World War,

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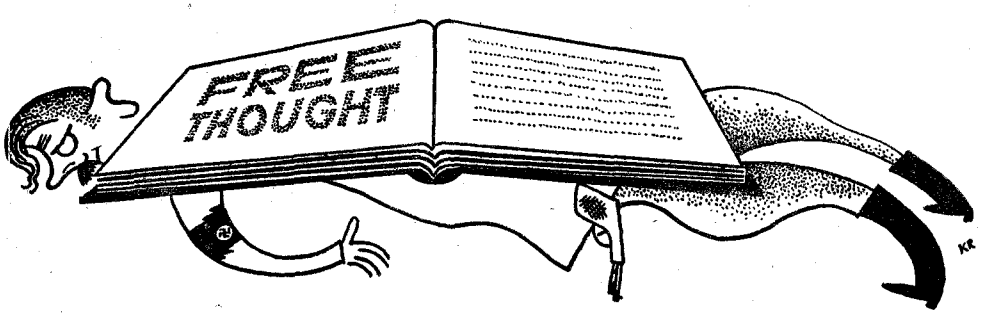
when the Germans themselves considered their country the happiest place in the entire world to live in, the whole picture of life in Germany seemed to me to present a number of features indicating a deepset mental disease of the whole population. The terrible frequency of child suicides, the idea of honor that was associated with duelling and destruction and self-destruction much more than with decent relations among human beings and plain honesty, the taste for violent and bloodthirsty language which we at that time refused to take seriously, seemed hardly sane. The trial of war criminals should everywhere be conducted with the aid of psychiatrists and specialists from several branches of medicine. And the forces of occupation should be accompanied not only by regular Red Cross units but by a body of alienists and neurologists—as well as by bodies of specialists in all branches of civilian administration. It will be their task to unscramble the mess the Nazis have made of social organization and economic structure and individual property rights in all the invaded countries.

To the victims of German sadism and of the age-old German orgiastic lust to trample on the conquered, to humiliate and torture the disarmed and the defenseless, it may seem revolting if many of the worst criminals are permitted to vanish unpunished into institutions for the criminally insane. And it would imply that the United Nations must face a task without precedent in history—that of dealing with several million madmen. But the problem of crime and insanity has only recently become a matter for scientific research. And all evidence seems to point the same way: the whole German Army, a cross section of the entire German nation, has participated in the deeds now being revealed from liberated Russia and being perpetrated in Italy today wherever the Germans are forced to withdraw. No records from the occupied countries contradict these facts. All of the German officers and soldiers, civilians, men and women, sent there to effect the looting of these countries and to manage stolen properties seem to be accomplices in the German crimes against the population of the invaded countries.

To be sure, many of these men and women would have been honestly shocked, say ten years ago, if they had been told what they would do at some time in the future. But they have done it, and they cannot undo their deeds or their experience. I do not believe much in the plans for reeducating the children and the youths of Germany—at least, I do not believe educators from abroad will be able to achieve much. And to find Germans who are willing to reeducate oncoming generations in a spirit contrary to the now ruling one, and who are capable of it, will be difficult, to put it mildly—at least for a long time. The sole educational factor which I believe may be effective in altering the trend of German ambitions and desires is the realization that, in the end, this war has brought upon the Germans themselves some of the misery they had gleefully planned to visit upon their neighbors. Nevertheless those men who have perpetrated the crimes now being bared in Russia and Italy must be considered unfit to educate children (their own not excepted)—the men who for years have made life in the occupied countries hell for the entire population of old and young men and women and small children; the German nurses who have injected air-bubbles into the veins of Jews doomed to destruction; the German women who have gloated over nice apartments taken from their rightful owners and over possessions stolen from the murdered.

The pledge that the war criminals who have committed murders and atrocities will be pursued relentlessly has in fact merely stated a problem the scope and implications of which we are very far from being able to fathom at present. But we are grateful, and we may look toward the future of the world with new confidence because the signatories to the Moscow agreement have pledged themselves not to drop the question of what to do with the war criminals when the war is ended.



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A CREDO *for Today*

For Action: A CALL

AN EDITORIAL

A SUFFERING humanity has become impatient. It is militant in its demand for a better world, and it will have it. Five hundred delegates from more than twenty countries came to the Third Free World Congress and committed the democratic people of their countries to a fighting program. This is political history that is not yet in the textbooks. But it will be in tomorrow's histories if millions of human beings demand a democratic world order.

Only a year ago, at the Second Free World Congress, America's Vice-President, Henry A. Wallace, made the memorable declaration that "the people's revolution is on the march, and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it." This declaration from high quarters electrified the free-thinking peoples of the world. Men from every quarter of the globe began to ask how their wishes could be turned into action; how the vision of a free world could become a reality.

The Free World Association answered them. It set as its great aim the mobilization of public opinion throughout the world and the education of that public opinion on problems of democratic world organization. Now, a year later, positive results are beginning to show. The Association, the magazine FREE WORLD and the World Confederation of International Groupments, working together, have become a rallying point for thousands of citizens who believed themselves alone in their wish for collective security and peace.

The united energies of millions of dedicated citizens who know the difference between humanity and barbarism cannot be ignored again. The battle is on. It is an ancient battle, the struggle between good and evil, but in our time it takes on a new consciousness and fury. Most important of all it takes on a new political significance and weight. For now, with the Free World Association, there is a world organization that will put every ounce of energy into a directed and organized effort to battle against national hatreds, racial inequalities, anti-progressive politics and economic disaster.

The majority of the peoples of the world want this war to end soon, and with the defeat of the Axis philosophy. The majority want the new peace to erect the foundations of a peaceful democratic world order in which respect for human rights, economic prosperity and security from aggression will be everywhere the birthright of tomorrow's children. It can happen. It can happen in our time. But it will not happen unless the freedom-loving peoples of the world demand *political* victories against fascism as well as military victories. It will not happen unless the freedom-loving peoples stand together as one body against the cynical greed that, in political quarters, is so often misinterpreted as patriotism.

It is now a commonplace that the world can feed the world, that standards of living can be raised everywhere without disaffecting the prosperity of any country. The human community has a new horizon in our time. In other days the man in the next street or the next village needed help and he got it. Now it is the man in the next country. In theory world organization is as simple as that.

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In practice the vast problems around world organization may appear to be too staggering for everyday comprehension. Yet we have the current example of men of all nations and creeds bound together in the greatest military effort in history. What men of all nations can do to defeat the military expression of fascism they can most surely do to establish the peace of humanity. If the fascist governments could believe (as they did) that they could enslave the whole world the democratic governments, with the majority on their side, must believe that they can free the whole world.

We have stated, both as citizens and soldiers, that we are fighting for democracy. If this is so, if the young men of every free land are on the battlefronts dying for something, those of us who remain on the home fronts must live for something. Day by day this harsh fact becomes increasingly self-evident. Men of good will everywhere must be dedicated to a positive democratic end. There is no other way, and no other goal.

Fortunately men of all lands have made a beginning in this direction. They have come together in the efficient comradeship of the Free World Association to fight for democratic living and a peaceful society. But there can never be too many to help in this everlasting fight. It requires help from the peaceloving citizens, wherever they are, whatever they are doing. For now the choice for humanity is painfully clear: either to accept forever the futile bloodletting between nations or to rise now as free men and assume a responsibility toward life, not as citizens of one state but of one world.

A DIARY OF THE CONGRESS

New York, October 28.

TONIGHT at seven-thirty the Third Free World Congress began. It opened with a large audience and a large dinner in the ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania. Men and women, about seven hundred, of all nationalities, sat down together to discuss the great subject of our time: the ways and means to gain international freedom. Each table represented a League of Nations of its own. At one table alone there were two Chinese, one East Indian, one Frenchman (in uniform) and a Latin American as well as three authentic fellow natives living west of the Hudson. The speeches given at the dinner are published in this issue.

New York, October 29.

HUGH MOORE, chairman of the Free World Association, together with Clark Eichelberger, director of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, opened the morning session on this first day of the Congress. Carter Goodrich, chairman of the governing body of the International Labor Office; Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary of the Church Peace Union; Beryl Harold Levy, member of the executive committee of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; Anup Singh, editor of *India Today;* and Quincy Wright, professor of international law at the University of Chicago were the main speakers in this session devoted to "Planning the Future." Carter Goodrich stressed the fact that abolishing mass unemployment in the postwar world will be one of the major tasks confronting industry, labor and government.

THE morning passed quickly and the luncheon session began at one o'clock on the subject, "Democratic Guarantees for the Transition Period." All the delegates agreed with Charles Davila, former Rumanian Minister to the United States, that "military expediency should be kept within the limits in which it will not spoil the chances for a future world based on natural and moral law." J. Alvarez del Vayo, former Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Spanish Republic, who presided pointed out the same fact—as did Basil Vlavianos, director of the *National Herald,* and Louis Adamic, author of *My Native Land.* Vladislaw Malinowski, representative of Polish labor groups in the United States, said: "The Polish people stand for collective security, a United Europe on a federal basis and real self-government and democracy. They are against the division of Europe into spheres of influence, the interference of Allied Armies in the internal lives of liberated

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countries." The eminent anthropologist, Julius Lips, spoke on the future of Germany, a subject that always provokes passion.

AND then the afternoon programs started. William Shirer, Lisa Sergio, Clifford Durr, Bessy Beatty, Syud Hossian and Stanley Young were at the "Freedom of Speech" session. William L. Shirer emphasized the responsibility of radio commentators to present unbiased news; Lisa Sergio spoke of the responsibilities of the listening audience in making views known to the radio sponsors and broadcasting companies; and the government's point of view was presented by Clifford Durr of the Federal Communications Commission who noted that the powers of the FCC are dependent to a large degree upon public reaction.

The session was in general agreement that there must be "a militant awareness on the part of the public and a demand that minority opinions be given more free time on the air to discuss vital and controversial subjects."

WHILE the session on "Freedom of Speech" was discussing one of the most important issues of our fight for freedom, the question of how to feed Europe was being raised by Wallace J. Campbell, secretary of the Cooperative League of the United States of America, who presided at the commission on "Freedom from Want." Others who dealt with this problem were Albert Norden, German economist; Henry P. Fairchild from New York University; B. Landhear, an official at the Netherlands Information Bureau; Bertram Fowler, author of *Food, a Weapon for Victory,* and Hiram Motherwell, author and journalist. The delegates pled for aid to the European countries if their economies are to be speedily restored.

JUST across the hall the session on "Freedom from Fear" was meeting. Men who know many parts of the world were there: Wousaofong, former member of the political section of the League of Nations Secretariat; Ludwig Rajchman, former chief of the health section of the League of Nations; Herbert S. Good, head of several peace groups in Boston; Horst Baerensprung, former adviser to the Chinese Government; Waverley Root, newspaperman and radio commentator, and A. S. Monroney, Congressman from Oklahoma. All argued that the United Nations should set up an organization similar to the League of Nations —but one strengthened by the addition of an international police force equipped with a strong air arm.

B. MIRKINE-GUETZEVITCH, professor at the New School for Social Research, presided at the session on "Law and Human Rights." Alfredo Mendizabal, scholar in international law; Max Beer, former member of the League of Nations Secretariat; Boris Prégel, author; Paul Schrecker, professor at the New School; Quincy Wright and Beryl Harold Levy were all emphatic that any new League of Nations would have to reflect the "will of the people" instead of the "will of the diplomats."

New York, October 30.

PAUL DOUGLAS, President of the American University, Washington, D. C., presided at the 9:30 A.M. session on "America and World Organization." James P. Pope, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, emphasized the fact that the survival of Europe and Asia is essential to prosperity in America, that peace in Europe and Asia are essential to peace in America and that the international development of resources goes beyond the matter of financial benefits.

Among the other speakers were the ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot, who talked of man's greed for land and of how a proper use and conservation of our natural resources can give men everywhere the abundance in worldly goods that will make for dignified life and a sense of well-being. Arthur Raper of the United States Department of Agriculture demonstrated statistically how the improvement of small southern communities has led to a higher standard of living among the so-called inferior Negroes and poor whites. Irene Baird, member of Canada's National Film Board, spoke of Canada's place in the postwar world. Then Stanley Young, who had just come back from a long tour of army and

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navy camps, expressed grave doubt that the returning soldiers would be vitally concerned in international cooperation. He placed the responsibility for this cooperation squarely on citizens on the homefront.

The Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Norman Littell, participated in the panel discussion, gave an eyewitness account of the death of the League of Nations and underscored the urgency of making collective security an active instead of a passive principle. The concept of a police force on an international scale is as valid, Mr. Littell said, as it is in community government where "individual dictators, the men who defy law and order, take what they want." "We have stopped them by police force. Right now, at this minute, a certain number of them are being apprehended in the city of New York and are on their way to police stations in a police wagon." He suggested that we graduate from the concept of collective security on a small, individual basis to collective security on an international basis; that we set up a strong, effective authority to deal with international problems as they arise.

Frederick C. McKee, treasurer of the Free World Association, then commented briefly on Mr. Littell's plea.

THE Saturday luncheon session devoted to the "Future of Asia" (FREE WORLD will publish its record in a later number) began at one o'clock and was still going on at five. Major interest centered on India and the famine now menacing Indian stability.

AT the session, "Freedom from Want," Mordecai Ezekiel, advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture; Wallace J. Campbell; James P. Pope; Delgado de Torre, Secretary of Finance for the Spanish Republic; H. H. Sheldon, consulting engineer; C. Wilfred Jenks, legal adviser to the International Labor Office; and Hans Staudinger of the New School for Social Research agreed with the chairman, Morris L. Cooke, government consulting engineer, that "production and ever more production is the master-key for conquering want, whether it be for the individual, the local community, the nation or the world." Each a specialist in his own field, they pooled their experiences "to plan the planning which is to provide reasonably adequate housing, food and clothing for all peoples."

THE session on "Postwar Education" was most rewarding in that it laid plans for establishing close personal relationships now between schools, students and teachers in the free countries and plans for similar contacts for the areas devastated by the Nazis after these regions have been liberated. With a view to preparing hundreds and thousands of students in the postwar world for a life of active internationalism various concrete matters were taken up: the preparation of new textbooks was analyzed and scripts for films and broadcasts were devised and discussed in order that hundreds of thousands of students in the postwar world could be prepared for a life of active internationalism.

George Payne, dean of New York University's School of Education and chairman of the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, introduced the main speakers: Alonzo Myers, chairman of the Special Committee for the Establishment of an International Education Office; Reinhold Shairer, member of the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction; Julius Lips; Irene Baird and Feliks Gross, general director of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board.

DURING the session on the "International Protection of the Rights of Man," (B. Mirkine Guetzévitch presiding) Quincy Wright pointed out that the development of closer international contacts has enhanced the chances for formulating a bill of human rights. This increase in world-wide social contacts makes it more important that each state protect basic rights. Recent experience has taught that aggression stems from a denial of human rights. Peoples aware of foreign opinion about their government's policies will be less easily led to support aggressive action. Consequently the protection of individual rights is no longer an exclusively domestic question. Assuming that a strong political and economic organization is provided after the war it would appear that civil liberties should be incorporated in a bill of funda-

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mental rights equally binding on all states.

Participants in the general discussion included Max Beer; Emil A. Gumbel from the New School for Social Research; Ernest Hamburger, general secretary of the Institute of Comparative Law; Beryl Harold Levy; A. Le Roy, former French High Commissioner of Syria; Hans Heyman from Rutgers University; William M. Leiserson and Judge Dorothy Kenyon.

Further along in this number of FREE WORLD our readers will find a record of the discussion on "Democratic Guarantees in a World Organization."

New York, October 31.

AT nine-thirty on Sunday morning the World Confederation of International Groupments met, with Li Yu Ying, president of the Chinese National Academy and co-founder of the Chinese Republic, presiding and with Fritz Kaufmann, editor of the *World Encyclopedia,* and Sylvain B. Cahn-Debré as speakers.

THE theme of the luncheon meeting was "Freedom of Religion and Racial Equality" —and these, as M. Searle Bates, chairman of the meeting, commented, are one and the same thing. Most of the other speakers struck an identical note. Father John O'Grady, Secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, pointed out that Christianity demands the practice of equality. William Agar, acting president of Freedom House, denied Americans any right to talk about democracy abroad so long as they do not put their own house in order. W. T. Chan of Dartmouth College spoke on freedom of conscience, emphasizing the ancient and noble tradition of the Chinese in this respect. Anup Singh, noted Indian author, attacked inequality in India—the "Aryan nobility" system of Brahmans—which he contended, however, would be gradually overcome. But he went on to indict the white man's guilt in discriminating against other races. Rabbi Ahron Opher and the minister, Ben A. Richardson, discussing the role of religion in the modern world from their different points of view, came to an analogous conclusion: that the nearer men approach God the nearer they approach their fellow-men.

HELD immediately after the Sunday luncheon, the closing session of the Congress became an eloquent expression of the principles for which Free World stands.

ORSON WELLES presented a statement from the American Free World Association (which we publish elsewhere in this issue) and the Declaration of the Third Free World Congress and urged the adoption of the principles set forth in them—not for reasons of selfishness and political expediency but on moral grounds. He asked the Free World Association to become radical, even revolutionary, inasmuch as its task is to fight counter-revolution.

NAHUM GOLDMAN, executive director of the World Jewish Congress, emphatically claimed that the fate of the Jewish people (30 per cent of whom will not survive this war) is not Hitler's exclusive responsibility; it is the responsibility of the democracies, too, who have failed either to stop Hitler's murderous course or to open their doors to his victims. Since it is impossible to make reparation to the Jews we must, he pleaded, make "collective reparation" by giving them the opportunity to settle freely in a country of their own. Octavio Mangabeira, former Minister of Foreign Affairs for Brazil, pled for the cooperation of democratic Americans in establishing a true Pan-Americanism of free American nations.

IN this connection J. Alvarez del Vayo, executive director of the Free World Association, announced that the first great demonstration of the strength of the democratic movement in Latin America would be given at the Free World Congress to be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, on December 14.

OTHER speakers (touching in comment or summary on the various sessions of the Congress) included Rustem Vambery, chairman of the Committee for a New Democratic Hungary, Wousaofong, Quincy Wright, Li Yu Ying and Felix Boenheim.

HUGH MOORE, who presided, outlined the task for the coming year and thanked the 720 delegates—representing 23 countries —who participated in the various sessions of this Third Free World Congress.

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ORGANIZATION

The First Task of Today

by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman

THE main function of Free World is to fill the gap which has existed in the past between governments and their countries' public opinions on world affairs.

The terrible destruction of this war—its world-wide character, the forced migration of more than 100 million people already—have opened the eyes of much larger sectors of world public opinion to the necessity of world organization than ever before. But the emotions and the knowledge of things learned during a war run the risk of being forgotten very quickly afterwards if they are not backed up by contant education, by participation of the men and women of the common people in discussions on world affairs, by increasing their creative understanding—in one word, by organization.

That is why Free World first of all attempts to reach not only small groups of well-intentioned people but also the large masses of the people—the millions and millions who by the force of events have been obliged to think internationally. It is only when at least 20 to 30 per cent of humanity knows and understands the realities of world problems—has the necessary knowledge of geography and history, of sociology and economics—that it will be clear to them that no one country is safe, even though it may have a hundred thousand airplanes. Only then shall we be able to forge a peace and democracy that will really last.

Free World has intentionally avoided making a definite blueprint providing every slightest detail of the world machinery because we know that it is not the defects in the machinery which brought about the failure of the League of Nations but the absence of a determination on the part of the Big Powers to carry on an effective policy of collective security. What we need at present is to accept those essential principles and the machinery will follow almost automatically.

It is only if we accept sincerely the principle of the equality of all nations and of all men without distinction of race, color or creed that we shall be able to fulfill a leading function.

Free World, inspired by these principles, has succeeded in organizing the only world-wide movement—one extending its influence to over thirty countries. We are convinced that Free World will make an essential contribution toward the solution of the problems confronting the world.

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THIRD FREE WORLD CONGRESS

To End FASCISM Forever

by

J. Alvarez del Vayo

THE Free World Association stands, first, for a realistic peace—one which will endure and which will bring justice and prosperity to the world; second, for the continuation of the collaboration of the four great powers, the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China, after the defeat of the Axis—not as a permanent military directorate but as the initiating force for the creation of a democratic world organization; third, for peoples' governments in every part of the world; fourth, for collective security, since it is impossible to maintain peace without the assurance that any country that is unjustly attacked, under whatever pretext, will have the fullest economic, political and military support of all other nations (Free World believes that with such assurance, military sanctions may never become necessary) ; fifth, for a World Court of Justice, with full power of intervention and judgment in any international conflict which may menace the peace; sixth, for economic democracy, a system through which the economic resources of every country are utilized in the interests of the majority of the citizens and in the interest of world exchange. Free World recognizes that economic systems may vary from country to country but it does not recognize the right of any nation to wield its economic force against another, as nazi Germany used its autarchic economy.

It is only by presenting to the fighting peoples some such program of future democratic order that they can be relieved of the anxiety that today clouds their joy in the military victories of the Allies. Only in the measure that the immediate policy of the United Nations fosters real peoples' governments, economic democracy and a clearly defined organization of the peace will the present crisis of confidence be resolved. Only in the measure that the peoples see military victory producing political victory will their faith in the outcome of the war be reestablished. The crisis of confidence which we are witnessing today is not the consequence of any weariness on the part of the people. The popular reply to fascism in these last years has been prompt and overwhelming. No sacrifice has made the people retreat from their duty. But their confidence began to wane with the first popular realization that the war was being waged without consideration for their will, at the moment when Marshal Pétain was chosen in preference to the people of France. It was

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certainly not restored when eighteen months later, in spite of all the public dissatisfaction evidenced in regard to the North African policy, Marshal Badoglio was chosen instead of the workers and patriots of Milan, Turin and Naples, who had taken up the fight against Hitler, Mussolini and the King of Italy.

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No words will convince the common man that the fascists of yesterday, the servants and accomplices of fascism, are his natural allies in the fight for freedom. The common man, whose final triumph Vice-President Wallace hailed in his memorable speech for the Free World Association one year ago, went to war with the determination to end fascism forever. He will accept no outcome of the war which leaves in power a single fascist regime, whatever disguise it may assume.

If this war is global, as we have been repeatedly told, then the democratic victory must bless all the peoples of the earth. Fascism must be destroyed everywhere, and until it is ruthlessly exterminated there will be neither freedom nor peace in the world. A new conception of democratic collective security is the aim of the peoples who are fighting this war. Democratic collective security means that all the nations which stand for democracy will unite in the future against any other nation that would go fascist. The scandalous liaisons of the last decade between democratic and fascist states must be put to an end. Fascism must be considered the permanent aggressor, whether its name be Hitler, Tojo, Franco or Ramirez—whether it flourishes in the gardens of Europe or on the prairies of South America.

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I have deliberately mentioned Spain together with Argentina, Franco with Ramirez. I have done so because a democratic-republican Spain could have a most beneficial influence on the development of democracy in Latin America. It could play an opposite role in the Western Hemisphere to the role that the former Axis coalition assigned to Franco and his Phalange. Instead of working against the United Nations (as the Franco Phalange did and continues to do), against the United States, against a peoples' victory, a democratic Spain could be our natural ally in winning over the Latin American countries to the common tasks of establishing the free world of tomorrow. Spain is ripe for such a course and her democratic revival is certain unless the insane attempt to restore the monarchy plunges us, the Spanish people, against our desire and our will, into a new civil war.

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Free World, since the beginning, has been against any kind of negotiated peace with Hitler. Free World, today, is against any kind of negotiated peace with the deserters of fascism, with the forces of reaction which are trying to halt the march of the peoples toward the victory of the common man.

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The Unknown Soldier

BY

ORSON WELLES

BEFORE the year now generally called "Munich," perhaps a season or so earlier, there was a "treasure hunt" in Paris. Please visualize the celebrants not as Parisians but as notables, as they mostly were, of a very publicly gay wing of international society. You may know that a "treasure hunt" proposes a number of unlikely quests and when the list is imaginative it can be fun. Here was the treasure hunt (for the history of the game). There was no limit to the mad invention of it. One item was something unmentionably intimate (that's all I know about it), a possession of the mistress of a cabinet minister. Another prize was a legal certificate of marriage binding between a couple who hadn't considered any such solemnity. There were a dozen more of these "treasures," all as extraordinary, and for a climax—nothing less than a cigar, still smoking, lit at the flame that burns forever by the tomb of the Unkown Soldier.

Now, decency expects of a tomb that it guard for the lifetime of stone what was once the habitation of the spirit of man. The conscience of the world defends the Memorial of those who in the last war died for peace.

You agree we catch a glimpse here of something worse than mere bad taste picnicking on an old grave. Something perverse—wickeder than any casual defilement of God's image. Only another bad peace could make anyone laugh at a dead soldier again.

Of course whoever lit his cigar from that flame may have thought the Unknown Soldier wasn't anybody he knew.

It's true there isn't anybody in particular to mourn for the man who is buried there, so everybody mourns for him. The mocker can't have known that he profaned his brother's grave. But how could he forget? The sense of man's brotherhood is all that can sustain the human spirit for the loss of God, and this man had no God.

By what did he live? The loss of faith is the condition of despair. The alternative to despair is the worship of Caesar. What's sure is that the mocking of sacrifice cannot survive elsewhere but in that evil climate of the soul where fascism prepares its subjects. Very probably the man with the cigar was one of those pre-fabricated pagans who rode the joyless carrousel of the twenties and thirties. One of those, you know, who doubted if anything is ever really bad or really good. If he's alive he may have changed his mind. It's possible he's found something bad enough to fight. He may even think that something good is real enough to defend.

I think we know those things but never say them enough.

Bad and good have been at war, God knows, since the first morning of the world. Men do the fighting; if they didn't this planet would be nothing better than a zoo. Faith is the tinder of man's greatness; so long as he shields it from despair he's going to keep the gift of fire.

There is one choice; no more. One choice and no exemptions.

Those who believe this present war can be the last are winning it. Those who now are losing suppose that war itself breeds

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without cure in the nature of all peoples. They are the same who fatten on this war. They are the same who plan the next one. The slaves doubt their kinds' capacity to learn and change; the slavers curb with doubt the peoples' righteous will to abide by its own laws. They are all the same. We have this to be glad of: these who are of little faith, the blasphemers, experts in chaos, or the sick in spirit, these who can't, who won't affirm the plain, magnificent decency of human folk, all such on this our brightening world are rallied in the shadows now under the banners of despair. Defeat is their profession and their destination. Victory rises today before the men of faith. This can be the last war. If it is we'll know the world's first peace.

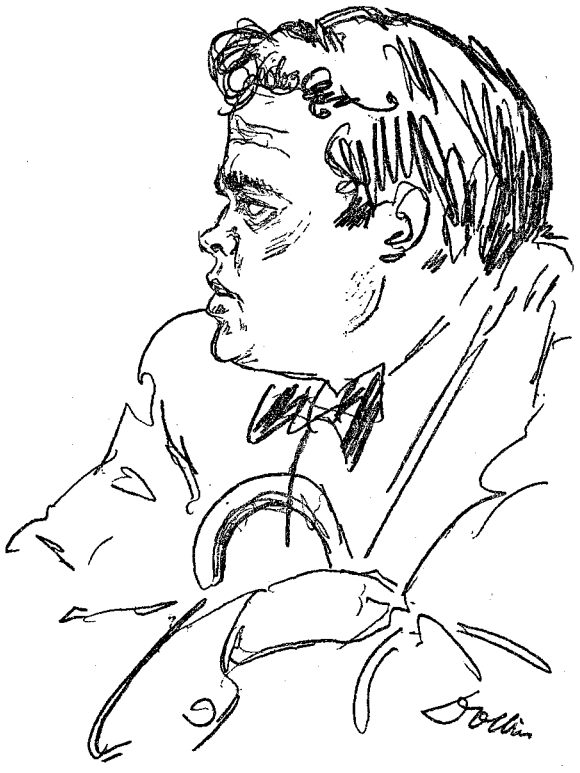
No more of the old stalemates and manipulations then! The people want a government of all their nations, the chance to know each other better, to visit neighbors and make friends. They want open borders. They want everything printed in the newspapers so they know whether they like what's going on. They're tired of secrets and spies. They're tired of striped pants: the people want their own diplomats. And all these things the people are going to have unless they're cheated out of them.

If free men fighting now aren't going to be allowed to destroy fascism, if afterwards anything that looks like fascism is suffered to sit down among us, the cynics will be right again—an ordered world where everybody's free to prosper and improve is still a far-off dream.

The fuehrer gave his sway a thousand years. His doom seems sure already. He's lost, but those who fight him know they may not win. That thousand years of his was a good guess. At least a thousand years waits on the chance of another war.

Another war means worse than the levelling of all the cities. We know that. It means retreat, a setback longer than the quarter of a century wasted since the Unknown Soldier died for us. A thousand years is a long march.

We are the ancestors of unknown soldiers who must go that bloody length again unless we, who are weary of marching, go on marching. Forward is the way—forward, beyond peace—on into the free world which depends on it.



A free world means just that; we must refuse all substitutes. A free world depends on that refusal.

Liberals have a lot to say nowadays about the danger of reaction. Reaction is no danger, it's a certainty. Maybe it won't amount to much; maybe it's going to be a tidal wave. Anyway the answer isn't written in the stars. It's up to the democratic man.

Within the separate democracies the serious failure of progressive influence could ruin international good health. If we allow provincialism to prejudice the efficiency of world organization, or if any of the leaders of the United Nations are permitted by the peoples they represent to use their armies for counter-revolution—then even this war has just started.

The ignorance of the masses is insufficient, wicked apology for any democratic loss. Germany before Hitler was possessed of quite considerable political sophistication. Blame for the failure of the Popular Front is not with the French working man. Progressive leadership must accept guilt now in just proportion to the gains of reaction.

The platitude of the day is even truer than most platitudes. No one doubts that

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we may win the war and lose the peace. I'd like to add that we may lose the peace before it's lost.

Dunkirk and Chungking and Stalingrad are what is hopeful. The democratic man has kept his faith.

He must stand fast now.

This time he daren't lose or nothing will be left—nothing even to start with. He must stand fast or they'll build a new war monument, not to the Unknown Soldier—but to the Unknown Cause.

Maybe they'll keep an enigmatic little flame alight there to show where freedom died, but nobody will start a cigar on that sepulcher; it wouldn't even be funny.

The alternative, of course, is civilization. A bookish, an uneasy word—that "civilization." Our languages will bear us fairer names for it when we've struggled closer to what we describe. Peace then will go as unremarked as the free air. Peace after all is no more than the victory of the farm over the wilderness—as probable as that—no more hard earned.

But never think our work is over when we've won that peace. We'll know better. And even when the world is free we'll know we've just begun.

"Here it is. Here is the peace," we'll say, standing in the midst of it like plowmen content with the good order of their fields; standing together, since mankind will be every man's family when the tools of war are put away for good.

"Here is peace," we'll say to each other, proudly, undismayed. Nobody will confuse it with the millennium. Then the abundance of the human spirit will be ready for harvest and the children will see that even final peace is merely history's first important date.

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PEACE
based on freedom

FREEDOM
secure in peace

by
HAROLD BUTLER
British Minister
to the
United States

YOUR Congress is meeting at a great moment of history, perhaps one of its greatest moments when the first faint rays of a new dawn are breaking. We have lived for four years in the terror and darkness of a long night. Europe is beginning to awake from the nightmare of nazi slavery and fascist tyranny. Perhaps when your Congress meets next year there will no more be an unfree Europe.

I think it is timely not only to look forward to the future but also to look back on the perils through which we have passed. I am not sure that it is sufficiently realized how nearly freedom perished altogether from the world. I remember in the grim winter of 1940-1941 looking out with my mind's eye to the Continent of Europe and wondering what was the fate of my many friends in all the occupied countries. At that time the German bombers were droning overhead every night. Almost every night one could hear the crash of bombs, sometimes as far as seventy miles away, sometimes as near as seventy yards or less. At that time everything looked black. The liberties of Europe which had been won by centuries of struggle were utterly destroyed. The work of the heroes and martyrs of Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia had been crushed out by the German Armies. The democracies of Belgium, Norway, Denmark and Holland had been obliterated. Even France, the greatest source of political and intellectual liberty on the Continent, had been reduced to intellectual and moral slavery.

Even England, the home of Magna Carta and of the first parliament, was in dire peril. Its people had no illusions. Though they were determined not to live in a slave country it was not at all sure that they could survive in a free country.

Then when one looked out across the world one saw the same thing happening in China. Its four-thousand-year-old civilization, based on respect for the individual and recently renovated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen,

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was threatened with extinction by the robot armies of Japan.

In fact the fate of freedom was everywhere in the balance. If the British and Chinese bulwarks had fallen a joint attack by Germany and Japan on the freedom of the New World was certain. With the whole resources and manpower of Europe and most of Asia at their command they may well have calculated that their success was ultimately inevitable.

Thanks, however, to the grace of God we have come through these perils. Hitler was smitten with madness and rallied the Soviet Union to the forces of liberty. The great resources, the huge manpower, but above all the unquenchable spirit of the Soviet people brought a vast reinforcement to the Allied camp. Then General Tojo was also smitten with madness. Surely when history judges the Japanese decision it will seem the most incredible miscalculation of realities that was ever made. Apparently the Japanese war lords reckoned that the United States was unarmed, unready and unwarlike and that the British were engaged in a life and death struggle with Germany. They thought we should neither of us be able to protect our territories in the Far East; but they seem to have overlooked the industrial resources and the manpower of the United States, which were certainly not negligible, and still more the spirit of the American people. As Mr. Churchill said in his first address to Congress, "What sort of a people did they think we are?"

But though we have now passed through the moments of greatest danger it is as well to ask why these things happened. They need not have happened. I do not believe, and I am sure you do not, that this was predestined and predetermined, something which no one could prevent. We none of us took the steps which, if taken in time, would have prevented it.

At the end of the last war we failed to make the world safe for democracy because we did not stamp out German militarism or crush it by united effort when it reared its ugly head again. We did not stop the aggressor in Manchuria or Abyssinia or Austria or Czechoslovakia. We awoke to the danger to liberty at the last hour only. We failed to make democracy safe because we failed to destroy militarism. We failed to end war because we did not sufficiently fight for democracy whenever it was threatened.

This must not happen again. There can be no peace without freedom and no freedom without peace. Unless we succeed in building some new organization which will guarantee the security of all freedom-loving peoples none of the other freedoms, which the Atlantic Charter foreshadows, are worth the paper on which they are written. If there is no freedom from fear it is impossible to build the structure of a free and prosperous world. But to guarantee peace needs more than battleships, planes, guns and tanks. It needs a constant vigilance and an unswerving resolution to preserve peace and freedom whenever they are threatened. The League failed because that determination was lacking. Any future organization we may erect will fail likewise unless we have that determination. Peace cannot be ensured by any one nation or by two or three nations. It can only be ensured by a collective aim and by a collective effort. On those terms only we may hope to get a new order of liberty in which every people will have its due place and dignity. Then we shall get peace based on freedom and freedom secure in peace.

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Peace is INDIVISIBLE

by

Wei Tao Ming

Chinese Ambassador to the United States

IN attending this Third Free World Congress I feel it is unnecessary for me to eulogize the many worthy activities and achievements of the Free World Association. To have accomplished so much in so short a time indeed speaks for itself.

We are engaged today in a gigantic struggle. Though greatly encouraged by the development of the war on all fronts we can never forget the heartrending tragedies suffered from the beginning of the conflict.

We, the people of the democratic countries, having no other ambition than to live our own lives in peace, were caught totally unprepared by our enemies who had long planned for aggression; and when they struck it is not difficult to imagine the extreme trials and hardships of those who had to take up arms against the vicious power of brutal and ruthless foes.

How many countries were overrun! How many millions of soldiers and civilians have been killed by enemy fire! How many more millions have been forced to abandon their homes and to seek shelter elsewhere! And how many tens of millions are suffering under the iron heel of the aggressors!

Why did the peaceloving peoples of the world willingly endure such hardship and sacrifice? How was it possible for them to stand with iron firmness against such overwhelming odds?

It is because we knew that the evil forces we were battling aimed to dominate the globe and to enslave mankind throughout the world. And if that challenge had not been met our entire civilization would have been destroyed and all of us—you and I and all those whom we hold dear—would have been forever shackled in chains.

I am reminded of a story that has made a lasting impression on me. It concerns a soldier whom I met while I was in China. He was just then recuperating in a medical station behind the front. He had fought with his regiment in a bitter battle which lasted several weeks. When most of his comrades were killed he was assigned with a few others to cover the retreat of the survivors. In the end he alone remained of the rearguard and, with his ammunition exhausted, he lost contact with his unit. Not knowing where his comrades were he joined a group of guerrillas composed of local farmers and students. With them he continued to fight the enemy behind his lines. Finally he was badly wounded. Because the medical supplies of the guerrillas were so lacking he underwent a painful surgical operation without benefit of anesthetics. His wound

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stubbornly refused to heal and his comrades had to send him to a hospital in Free China.

I asked him what he intended to do after his recovery. He quickly replied that he would rejoin his regiment as soon as the doctor released him. After what he had been through in the front lines and what he had seen of the wanton destruction and inhumanities committed by the enemy in occupied areas he felt that there was only one thing for him to do. And that was to fight the aggressor to the day of his total defeat. There were only two alternatives for him: death or freedom.

Although that is but the story of a simple soldier it clearly shows the fundamental significance of what we are fighting for—and similar stories are numerous in every theater of war.

It is for freedom, the basic value for humanity, that we are now joined together in common battles against the common enemy. And it is with unshakeable faith in the common cause that Allied forces are fighting so brilliantly on all fronts.

Now the might of the democracies is at last making itself felt in a pattern of victory which will not end until the flags of the United Nations fly triumphant over Tokyo and Berlin. Already the situation in Europe has undergone swift changes. Not only has all danger been cleared from the Mediterranean but the Allies are on the Continent of Europe and are pushing back the Nazis in Italy. And in Russia the enemy is steadily in retreat. Nowhere has he been able to make a stand.

Recent events in Italy were great blows to Axis morale. In this connection there is one feature that may be interesting to note. You will recall that both Hitler and Mussolini often boasted of the superiority of the totalitarian regime and decried the democracies as chaotic, slow and inefficient. Yet, even before the shadow of Allied invasion fell across the Italian mainland, Mussolini was thrown from his much-vaunted balcony. Like Humpty Dumpty he had a great fall. The oldest of the totalitarian regimes thus went suddenly to pieces. This shows the inherent rottenness of the despotic system—and it was a great moral victory for the democracies. The significance of this development cannot be lost on the German people themselves. Millions of them must see the handwriting on the wall. Their day of reckoning cannot be far off. And I believe that Hitler must know it too.

At this time, when victory for the United Nations is clearly in sight, our greatest effort is not limited to hastening the day of triumph but is also directed to securing a lasting peace. For though the peace can be realized only after the conflict is over, its problems are with us at all times.

To solve those problems it is necessary to keep in mind not only the principle of freedom which the peoples of the world are fighting for but also the indivisibility of the peace to come since scientific progress has made the world "one family under one roof."

If the democratic principle is the best guarantee of individual freedom within a nation, so also is it the surest safeguard of a nation's rights and freedom in the community of nations.

Therefore it is desirable for us to have at the earliest moment an adequate working organization within the framework of the United Nations, so that all its members can share the responsibilities in common.

Only by the application of the democratic spirit in world affairs can we have harmony and cooperation among nations; only by building a free world can we have lasting peace.

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Self-Discipline
Tolerance
Cooperation

THREE PRINCIPLES OF A FREE WORLD

by

Evans F. Carlson

I SHARE your hopes and objectives and you have the assurance of my cooperative effort in the work of bringing into being a free world, shorn of prejudice and intolerance.

Except among those burdened with fascist concepts one finds little opposition to the theory that the democratic pattern of society and its concomitant freedoms constitute the ideal socio-political system for mankind. What is not generally recognized is that responsibility for making the system work devolves on the individual members. Citizens of democracies are eager to participate in the benefits of a democratic society but they are loathe to make the sacrifices of comfort, personal convenience, time and effort which, collectively, make it work. There is pressing need for the education of the peoples of democracies to the end that they practice self-discipline and unanimously participate in democratic processes. No social order can stand without discipline; and one essential difference between a fascist society and a democracy is that in the former discipline is imposed by the governing group while in the latter discipline is self-imposed.

Also important is the matter of participation in the process of government by the members of society. Democracy implies government by the people. Unless the people exercise their prerogatives the purpose of democracy is defeated and they find themselves being governed by a self-perpetuating group whose motives are basically selfish.

A third factor which has an important bearing on the democratic pattern is tolerance. One of the chief reasons for people's migration to America, and particularly to the United States, lay in the intolerance that had been shown toward them. Intolerance was one of the basic reasons for our Declaration of Independence. And yet today we perceive many evidences of growing intolerance among our citizens. Unchecked, this can sound the death-knell of democratic society.

Finally, I would emphasize the value of cooperative effort in perfecting the democratic pattern. Cooperative effort implies working in harmony with your fellow-men. This poses the need for conscious striving on the part of the individual to remove points of friction from his relationship with his fellows. Let us add education in cooperation to our list of "musts."

When I think of a free world I think in terms of a democratic society because I cannot conceive of a world being free unless the people possess the prerogatives of self-government.

If the individual is honest with himself he will practice self-discipline, tolerance and cooperation, and he will place in public office men and women who are themselves fearlessly honest. Then, indeed, will we have a Free World.

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THIRD FREE WORLD CONGRESS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION *an Imperative Necessity*

by

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER

At the time when Senator Pepper telephoned this address to Free World's dinner meeting the Senate was debating the earlier version of the Connally Resolution. By their applause the assembled guests indicated their hearty assent to the Senator's fighting position.

The fourteen Senators who opposed the original Connally Resolution laid the groundwork for an enlargement of its scope; the Moscow Declaration —announced four days after the dinner — made that enlargement more imperative. Senator Connally himself altered his Resolution to include Article 4 of the Moscow Declaration. The Statement we print on page 513 deals with the original Resolution.

ANYONE who has read the Connally Resolution knows that isolationism is not dead in the United States Senate, for it must be admitted that at least some of the Senators drafting this Resolution personally stand for a forthright declaration of American purpose and for participation in rebuilding the broken earth and preserving peace in the postwar world. The Connally Resolution is tempered to the satisfaction of even Senator Nye, who will support it. We have begun to meet the threat of World War III by appeasement. I do not propose to hold an umbrella over isolationism—which deserves a drenching in every election in which it appears.

To lead the world in a fight for peace is a duty that cannot be discharged with fine words. Neither can it be dodged with them. If, among my colleagues in the Senate, there are those who feel that they have discovered an "out" in this masterwork of studied ambiguity, then I can say only that they are underestimating their own and their country's responsibility to its people. The bullets and bombs that may menace our children and grandchildren cannot be stopped with an adjective. The aggressive armies of the Hitler or the Tojo of 1960 cannot be split with an infinitive. And I might also remind these Senators that the freedom they enjoy today was won by the exercise of courage, not verbiage. Never before in history has Uncle Sam tried to hide behind the skirts of his grammar. The studied ambiguity of the Connally Resolution offers an excellent device through which the timid Senators and those of strong isolationist tinge may give lip-service to international cooperation without committing themselves to anything.

No amount of clever argument, nothing that can be supplied by implication, will make the Connally Resolution declare for an effective world organization. Assuming the United States would be willing to do something so unworthy as proposing a world organization that would leave out such gallant friends as the British Dominions (the intention of the Connally Resolution in its interpretation of free and sovereign nations); assuming we should be willing to let any group of nations anticipate the United Nations in forming the

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nucleus of this new order, no amount of interpretation or implication can make "international authority" the equivalent of "an international organization" or can supply the affirmative function an effective world organization must have—that of meeting and grappling with all of the world's economic, social and political problems in an effort to resolve conflicts and promote world well-being. The imagination alone cannot supply a charter of authority for a world judicial tribunal, a world court, when the resolution is silent on the subject. No just claim can be made that "power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world" was intended to mean an effective concert of nations which may employ even force, if necessary, to suppress military aggression and to preserve a peaceful world climate.

These deficiencies fourteen Senators, I among them, try to meet in our amendment to the Connally Resolution.

If the Senate is to assert its prerogative of being the final arbiter of American foreign policy it cannot shirk its duty clearly and fairly to lay down the guiding principles of that policy now.

We challenge not its power under the present provision of our Constitution but the Senate's right to determine the foreign policy of the United States only by an eventual vote, after unlimited debate at some indefinite time in the future, by a two-thirds majority, after some formal instrument as a result of international negotiations shall be submitted to it. To insist upon the letter of the Senate's constitutional prerogative is to deny the Government of the United States the necessary authority to act as a responsible world power and to endanger not only the people's authority but an early and clear victory in the war.

History shows how tedious and tortuous have been the procedures of the Senate in acting on international agreements. Debate on the treaty embracing the League of Nations was drawn out for eight long months. Finally the treaty and the League were destroyed in the Senate. The Senate debated the World Court from 1923 to 1926 and from 1930 to 1935. Four presidents recommended United States participation in the Court and yet the Senate never agreed except once, by reservations unacceptable to more than a few of the other members of the Court. In both cases—the League of Nations and the World Court—simple majorities voted for American participation but under our constitutional provisions two-thirds majorities were necessary. If we are not to have a repetition of this slow procedure in these split-second times, either we must change the constitutional provision or the Senate, when great decisions are to be made, must face up to its obligations and draw the outline of what the nation's policy may be. Only strong and enlightened public opinion can bring about either course.

It will take a long time to change the Constitution and it is highly possible that such a change can be effected only through action of the several states and a constitutional convention. Public opinion must be brought to bear on this matter, so that the United States can take its place of leadership in world affairs, freed from the binding cords of outmoded Senate procedure.

These are great times and we must be prepared to make great decisions with a minimum of retarding machinery. It is not enough to profess democracy; it is not even enough to say democracy; we must make democracy work both at home and abroad. Only then can democracy be assured.

Make your opinions known to the statesmen who will write the peace. SPEAK THROUGH

THE AMERICAN FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN, *Chairman*

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General Declaration of the

THE delegates to the Third Free World Congress respectfully bow their heads before the victims of fascism of all countries, of all races and of all creeds. They respectfully salute the memory of the soldiers of all the United Nations who have given their lives for the defense and the consecration of the ideals of freedom and justice. They recall particularly the heroic soldiers of China who, through the long years of her unaided struggle with Japan, have stood firmly at the crumbling walls of their cities. They think of the tens of millions of tenacious and heroic Russians relentlessly pursuing the powerful nazi forces. They hail the courageous aviators and soldiers and sailors of Great Britain and the United States who are carrying on the battle in all parts of the globe. They honor the free fighters — Czechoslovakians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Norwegians, Dutchmen, Poles and others who have fled from their enslaved countries to take up arms against the ruthless enemy.

THE delegates bow reverently before the men and women undergoing the nazi terror in the occupied regions—daring forces of the Underground who have overcome despair and who fight with a courage unsurpassed in all history.

THE delegates and members of the Third Free World Congress, representing democratic organizations of more than twenty countries, address themselves in this solemn hour to all the peoples of the world, urging them to put every ounce of their effort and energies into the service of the United Nations. Every day and every hour that the war lasts means so much more suffering, not only on the battlefields but behind the lines of the Axis enemy who have surpassed, in their cruelty and horror, in their lawlessness and unscrupulousness, the worst tales of human history. To put every ounce of energy into the service of the United Nations is much more than the fulfillment of a patriotic duty. It is the greatest service one can render to humanity as a whole and to the cause of freedom.

THE Third Free World Congress is deeply convinced that this war has to be fought with all the arms and all the resources of all the United Nations. But the Congress is also convinced that the political content of freedom is a great ideological weapon of which the utmost use must be made in order not only to rally the people of the United Nations more and more strongly around the cause, but also in order to convince the peoples behind the enemy lines of the imperative necessity for them to sabotage their criminal governments, by all the means in their power, and to make it clear to them that any other action creates a co-responsibility for them in the horrors of the present.

THE Third Free World Congress is deeply convinced that the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world want this war to end in a full and uncompromising defeat of the Axis powers and of the Axis philosophy. The Congress is also convinced that these people also want this war to

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Third Free World Congress

be followed by a new era in human history in which not only will the evils of the past be eradicated but in which the foundations of a peaceful democratic world order—respect for human rights in all lands, economic prosperity for all humanity, security from aggression—will be firmly established.

THIS battle transcends the boundaries of the Axis countries. It reaches into almost every human community where parts of the Axis philosophy have penetrated in the form of national hatreds, racial inequalities, anti-Semitic attitudes, anti-progressive policies and economic frustration. The battle against these remnants of fascism is a part of the present war, and only their complete eradication will create the necessary conditions for a peaceful democratic world order—ideals around which the United Nations have been able to gather the sympathies and the support of the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

THE Third Free World Congress respectfully draws the attention of the United Nations authorities to the necessity of following up their military victories with political victories against fascism: that is, of remaining faithful to the peoples and of abstaining from any cooperation whatsoever with the fascist forces—the Quislings and various puppets, the accomplices of fascism—in whatever country they may occupy. The United Nations authorities will find no more faithful support than the democratic forces in the various freed countries. Those forces not only will give their fullest political, moral and economic support to the armies of the United Nations; they will add new fighting forces to the armies, they will spread the appeal of freedom behind the enemy lines—they will be Allies in the true sense of the word.

THE problem of reconstruction of the immense territories devastated by the enemy is a task which no one country can carry out by itself. It is a task in which all peoples must participate, so that efforts toward reconstruction may be the beginning of the future world organization. Scattered all over the world there are enough economic resources capable of development to such an extent that standards of living can be raised everywhere without affecting those of the prosperous countries. It is not by expanding conditions of scarcity to any land that the economic problems of this world can be solved, but by spreading the conditions of prosperity to the undeveloped and poor areas of our world.

THE Free World Congress solemnly reaffirms the fundamental principles of the Free World Movement—**International Democracy—Economic Democracy—Political Democracy—Democratic World Organization Based on Collective Security.**

To educate public opinion, to organize it as a strong and powerful factor in political decisions to come—decisions which will affect the fate of generations to come—the Third Free World Congress gives a mandate to the Executive Committee to make every effort possible to create organizations and committees all over the world dedicated to these ideals.

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PRINCIPLES
OF
THE FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION

IN accordance with the policy of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, the Free World Association reaffirms the following principles of total democracy:

Principle 1: Political Democracy

THE countries which can participate in the establishment of a new international order are those: (a) whose governments are a true expression of popular will and controlled by freely elected representatives of the people; (b) which assure to the individual his essential rights without distinction of race, color or creed; such rights should be guaranteed by an International Bill of Rights; and (c) whose governments accept international democratic control. The establishment of the above minimum conditions in all countries is a matter of international concern.

Principle 2: Economic Democracy

THE welfare of humanity can be assured through economic democracy. The application of economic democracy should permit the equitable distribution of wealth. It would then further assure the general regulation, by political democracy and international democracy, of economic activity and immigration in order to achieve, especially, the elimination of unemployment and the access of all peoples to raw materials and to assure the right of the individual to adequate food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

Principle 3: International Democracy

THIS means the equality of all races and peoples; the same rights and obligations for every nation, particularly in the matters of distribution of raw materials, of collective security and of disarmament after a period of transition and necessary reeducation; the end of the regime of absolute sovereignty and of colonial exploitation. Colonized peoples should have the right of democratic self-government within the framework of a world organization. An international authority for the administration of so-called backward or colonial areas has to be found.

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Principle 4: Association of Nations

INTERNATIONAL justice and peace should be guaranteed by the association of nations organized according to the principles of collective security and possessing international executive, political, military, economic and educational power. Direct representatives of the peoples as well as government delegates should be entitled to participate in the work of the association of nations.

"This Is a Time for Greatness"

A STATEMENT
OF
THE AMERICAN FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION

This is the moment of great decision.

Our fighting men are bringing us victory. They can't wait for the Senators to make up their minds what to do with it.

The statement by leaders of sixty million Protestant, Catholic and Jewish Americans, and all recent public opinion polls show that the people know what they want. The Connally Resolution may be intended to satisfy them for a while, but it won't. Freedom still lives in the world because of our United War Command, and the people know that freedom and the peace it depends on can survive only under a United Peace Command. That means commitments riveting down world law, commitments for enforcement of that law, economic, political and military commitments for continuing the efficient comradeship of the United Nations.

The Connally Resolution at best is only a declaration of good intentions, an I.O.U. written in disappearing ink.

This is a time for greatness. The chance of peace in a decent world waits on the courage of ninety-six men. They must rise to their responsibility; they cannot wash their hands of it. They must not stand with Pontius Pilate among the guilty judges.

Let them hear from America.

The American Free World endorses the Pepper Amendment. We call upon Congress for a clear statement advising the President to act now to place America behind an international organization of the United Nations.

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A PANEL DISCUSSION FROM THE

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, at the Third Free World Congress, the Commission on "Freedom from Fear" and the general session devoted to the "Democratic Guarantees for the Transition Period in Europe" discussed some of the measures to be taken in the immediate transition period. Numerous representatives from the European countries expressed their belief that military expediency should be "kept within the limits in which it will not spoil the chances for a future world based on natural and moral law," to quote Charles Davila, former Rumanian Minister to the United States.

Time and again the belief was expressed that we can assure democracy in Europe during this period only if we support the genuinely democratic elements within every country.

On Saturday, October 30, during the second session of the Commission on "Freedom from Fear" (which we present here in excerpt form) the speakers, following a suggestion from the chairman, Max Lerner, thought in terms of the kind of structure, the kind of setup, the kind of guarantee the world would need in order to secure some sort of underlying and permanent structure for world order.

Those who took part in the discussion were: Louis Adamic, president of the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans; Ferdinand Czernin, prominent Austrian liberal, chairman of Austrian Action; Julius Deutsch, former Minister of War for the Austrian Republic; Randolfo Pacciardi, head of the Garibaldi Battalion during the Spanish Civil War and a leader of the Italian anti-fascist forces; J. Alvarez del Vayo, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Spanish Republic. Max Lerner, professor of political science at Williams College and well known author and columnist, presided.

The questions asked from the floor revealed the immense interest which the problems raised in the discussion aroused in an audience interested in international affairs. We are reporting several of these questions and the answers given—with our sincere apologies that the names of the persons who asked the questions were not recorded.

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1 **The principle of absolute national sovereignty must be revised. A world organization should have power to enforce its decisions once they have been arrived at.**

2 **The small nations of the world have an immense amount to contribute to the world's future.**

3 **Only the fusion, in a social democracy, of the democratic elements in Europe with those favoring social reform could create the basis for a lasting peace and for a United States of Europe.**

4 **When the Axis cracks, liquidation of the forces of fascism will raise serious problems of the maintenance of order. These can be solved only by genuine popular governments and American collaboration with them.**

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FREEDOM FROM FEAR

MAX LERNER—My function is pretty much that of a policeman except that a policeman doesn't make introductory remarks before he proceeds to his policing functions.

We are interested in what kind of procedures and machinery the world needs. I think we are even more interested in how that machinery will work, the passion behind it, the intellectual climate in which it will operate, the conceptions underlying it.

I remember a discussion with an American of real depth and penetration in which he said to me, "One trouble with the League of Nations machinery after the first World War was that we tried to achieve justice without force. And then," he said, "the Nazis came into the vacuum thereby created and they tried to achieve force without justice. Our problem in the future," he went on, "is to combine justice with force." I myself think that that is a good simplification.

We ought to understand that wars are not over when the shooting stops. Wars are not over until the deep tensions and problems out of which they originally arose have somehow been—I won't say resolved—but at least grappled with.

I suspect that the problem of achieving democratic guarantees in a world organization is partly the problem of grappling with the tensions out of which wars arise. I should like to put my suggestion in the form of a three-point proposition. First, we should try to think about what those deep problems are out of which wars have arisen and about how we can grapple with them. Second, what is the nature of the justice we should like to see prevailing everywhere? All over the world today there burns a fire that I can only call the fire of revolutionary democracy. And this revolutionary democracy takes its character from that objective of justice for all the people which it is seeking to obtain. Third, what is the nature of the force we must use to achieve that justice and resolve those problems?

And now I should like to call on my very good friend, Mr. Louis Adamic, for an opening statement.

Louis Adamic—I shall try to talk largely about the fire of democratic passion. The Yugoslavs, democratically inclined people, are thinking first of all, perhaps, of organization, of federation. They think the new Yugoslavia to be created after this war will have to be built from the ground up—instead of from the top down, like the first Yugoslavia. The right of the people to fashion their own economic, political, social and cultural life is insisted upon. The trend of thought is toward collectivism, much of it to be organized around the village and town collective or cooperative—which is a very old institution there, going back twelve hundred years at least.

How many autonomous or semi-autonomous units there will be in the Yugoslav Federation is a matter to be left to the future. But there will certainly be a united Slovenia, a Croatia, a Serbia and a Montenegro.

In creating this Federation there will be

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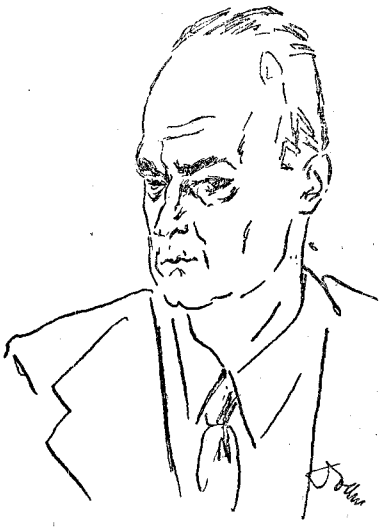
a merging of principles at work in the United States, Switzerland and the Soviet Union. There is to be a people's bill of rights and freedom of the press, assembly and religion. Religion, however, will be severed from the state and from local politics. It will have to rest on its spiritual solemnity and spiritual appeal to the people—not on special privilege and vested interests and clerical politics. The idea of a Slavic Federation or of a still wider Balkan Federation or Confederation is possible only within a democratic republican system erected on the principles of the people's right of self-determination, and only under leaders coming up from the ranks of the people during and after the ordeal of occupation. Monarchy is excluded.

I believe a majority of people forming the Yugoslav Liberation Front and Bulgarian Underground are eager for sovietization; but they know (in view of the difficulties such a proposal might create between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon Allies) that the Soviet may not want sovietization there. The people at large are hoping at least for a Balkan Federation. Perhaps they can get an East European Federation—that is what Benes is for (and they think it important that Benes is for it).

Everything depends on the big United Nations, on whether or not the difficulties among them can be resolved and kept from popping up in serious ways later on. It would be ideal, from the Yugoslav point of view, if American, British and Russian troops simultaneously occupied eastern Europe and if they jointly held the region in a sort of international escrow, avoiding any rivalry. At the end of, say, six months or a year free elections should be held in which the people, after listening to an open debate among their leaders, would decide whether they want to become one federation or several confederated federations or some sort of a union—or whether they want to be sovietized.

I must make this clear, however: the people will want a new setup—collective security and close unity or collaboration with neighboring peoples, including former enemies if they are under proper governments. They will want safeguards against any repetition of the period just ended. They will resent and fight any attempt to restore the status quo ante bellum. They will resent any attempt to quick-freeze their revolutionary movement—which is going to be revolutionary and no maybe about it.



Louis Adamic

The relief must be so handled as not to give prestige to would-be leaders objected to on any score by any considerable number of people who fought the guerrilla war. The South Slavic and other Balkan peoples will need a great deal of assistance to help themselves through the several years after their liberation. I hope they will get it. I think they probably will. They will deserve it. Over a million Yugoslavs will have been eliminated from the world by execution, starvation or other methods of depopulation. This is comparable to war losses of seven or eight million people for the United States. Although generally unrecognized up to now, Yugoslav sacrifices and their contribution to victory over the Axis will have been proportionately greater than that of any other nation. But they will be most effectively and lastingly helped to help themselves if the big United Nations achieve postwar unity and a continued, durable collaboration.

Question—Judging by the pattern being set up now in the recognition of the Italian King and Badoglio, isn't there great danger that there will be tremendous pressure brought to bear to quick-freeze, as you called it, this fire of democracy? What if the Yugoslav people then look to the Soviet

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Union for help—won't that create tremendous friction?

Adamic—There is real danger that that will happen. The entire trend of American policies so far has been to use Mikhailovitch and Neditch, the Serbian Quisling. Mikhailovitch is a sort of Yugoslav Badoglio; Neditch is definitely a Quisling. I do believe, however, that as a result of the Moscow Conference there is going to be a change in that trend. I think Russia has a different idea. She may allow some sort of temporary arrangement that will be partly Darlan and Badoglio. I'm convinced, from the information I have access to, that they can't possibly get away with it.

Question—There is this constant push for Mikhailovitch. I'd like to be on one side or the other. A person can't be on both.

Adamic—The thing is immensely involved. Resistance, war, civil war, revolution and counter-revolution are going on in Yugoslavia. The Partisans are revolution; Mikhailovitch is counter-revolution.

Question—Comparing the situation in Yugoslavia with that in America when we first got our federation and with that in Russia when they got their Soviet federation, are the conditions in Yugoslavia as favorable for either or both types of federation?

Adamic—I think they are favorable to a merging of the two. Each of them will revise the other somewhat.

Question—Are enough people who want federation aware of this? How about the general population?

Adamic—The problem isn't as serious as you think. You've heard about all the squabbling and the rifts and so forth and so on. As a matter of fact the Liberation Front is a unity movement and includes representatives of every element in the country, every nationality, every religious and regional group. The Russian example attracts them very much—that is, the multinational state attracts them very much.

They also favor the Russian law that punishes people who discriminate on account of race, nationality or religion. And they are quite attracted by Switzerland where you see seemingly antagonistic, or traditionally antagonistic, nationalities living in peace—I mean Germans and Frenchmen.

Lerner—I should like to call now on one of the great anti-fascist soldiers of our decade, the head of the Garibaldi Battalion in the Spanish Civil War, Colonel Pacciardi.

Randolfo Pacciardi—The nineteenth century in Europe was the century of national unification. This will be the century of international confederation. Fascism—capitalistic reaction in the social field—has been the nationalistic reaction in the international field. As everyone knows, nationalism and imperialism are brothers. When fascism is eliminated from the face of the earth the historic movement toward social reform and international organization will again take its normal course.

All those who dream of dividing Europe and the world into spheres of influence, all those who want to restore the rule of the Bourbons in Spain and of the House of Savoy in Italy and of the Hapsburgs in Austria and so on are preparing for the third World War. To arrive at an international democratic organization we must first install democracy in all countries.

Randolfo Pacciardi

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Modern democracy cannot be merely a political democracy that leaves social privileges intact. Modern democracy can't be anything but social democracy.

The proletarian revolution, like all preceding class revolutions, began as a dictatorship. But the dictatorial stage can't be the last stage in a social revolution. Even the France of sans-culottes was a dictatorship when it fought internal and international reaction. Freed from internal and international fear even the Soviet Union will evolve, in my opinion, toward democratic political institutions. It is enough to look at the restoration of religious freedom to see that this evolution has already begun.

The Spanish revolution at the other end of Europe attempted to reconcile socialism with liberty. It is my firm belief that this formula, "conciliation of socialism with liberty," foreseen by Mazzini during the Italian Risorgimento, must be the formula for modern social evolution. Political institutions must parallel this evolution.

Granted that we allow the greatest possible autonomy to peoples, nations, races—modern society (because of the immense scientific progress that has reduced the world to pocket size) is inconceivable without an international organization.

We must first support a political organization on a continental scale. In this connection the European problem deserves special attention. During the course of twenty-five years—the lifetime of a single generation—Europe has presented us with two world wars. Can we think of world reconstruction without solving the European problem? Can we think of the future Europe as divided into spheres of influence in conflict with one another? In the nineteenth century people said that when France took a snuff of tobacco Europe sneezed. During this century it can be said that when Europe sneezes the rest of the world bleeds at the mouth.

I see no effective solution to the European problem other than the United States of Europe. I shouldn't fear a feeling of fraternity among the races if it took place within the bosom of the United States of Europe: I shouldn't be frightened by a Latin or a German or a Slavic bloc within a great European organization; I shouldn't be frightened by an Anglo-Saxon bloc within the bosom of a great world organization. If we favor this federal movement all of the world's problems—of raw materials, of excess population etc.—could be more simply solved. It is much easier to create a society of continents than to create a society of nations.

There are two ways to achieve collective security—that is, freedom from fear: we can either organize a governing group of supernations that will act permanently as an international police force or we can organize an international society on the basis of equality among all. Attempts at the former have always failed. The Counter Reformation was nullified by the Renaissance. The Holy Alliance was demolished by a movement toward national unity. The international fascist alliance is breaking down under blows from an international democratic alliance—an alliance which was once the dream of poets and philosophers and today is the hope of all who fight and a promise to the millions who have died.

Question – I want to know why the speaker thinks that nationalism must necessarily go on into imperialism. It seems to me an ethnic group, using its nationalism as a medium, can give rich cultures to the world.

Lerner – I believe Colonel Pacciardi wants to reply through General Deutsch.

Julius Deutsch—We are not talking about a people's justifiable pride of nation. Colonel Pacciardi is talking about the nationalistic feeling of overnationalism. This will bring fascism.

Lerner—May I add that we in America are today witnessing the growth of so-called nationalistic movements. They are taking the place of the old isolationist movements and are imperialist in all their tendencies. I was happy to have Colonel Pacciardi mention this as a matter for Americans particularly to understand at the present time.

Question—Colonel Pacciardi mentioned the United States of Europe. Isn't that a litle contrary to what Mr. Adamic said about a federation of the Balkan states?

Deutsch—We are all of the opinion that regional federations must be a part of the European federation. The regional federation must have a larger economic importance also. I find that at the moment the Russians are against federations—but what

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kind of federations? The Russians are against a federation that would be a cordon sanitaire. Of course we are all against such a federation. We are for regional federations in Europe as a means to develop the economic life of our people but we are absolutely against a cordon sanitaire erected against Russia.

Lerner—I think we might move on to the next phase of our discussion. We are going to hear now from one of the leaders of Austrian Action, a liberal who has been very active in the fight against all attempts to reconstruct a reactionary Austria after this war, Count Ferdinand Czernin.

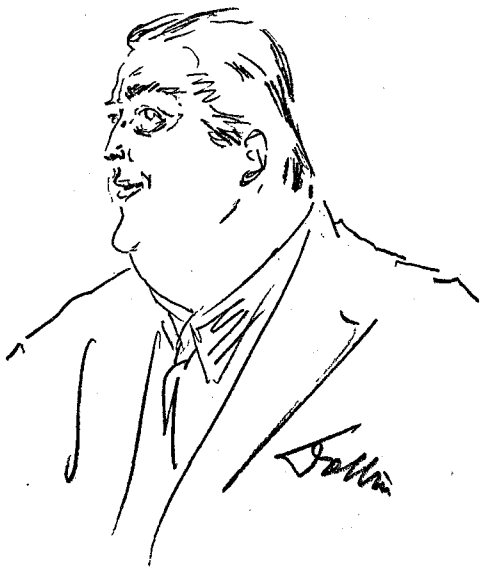
Ferdinand Czernin—The quarter-century life of the League of Nations proved beyond doubt that more than agreements between independent sovereign nations are needed to guarantee a working world organization.

For why did the League fail? Not because of the nonparticipation of the U. S. A., as Americans still believe and as many Europeans would like Americans to believe. Even American participation in the League could not have saved it from its unhappy fate. The League failed because it was a council of sovereign nations, because it had no sovereignty of its own, no power to enforce its decisions once they had been laboriously arrived at.

The least any world organization which is expected to work must demand for itself is that its member nations renounce their own sovereign right to wage war and that they confer that right upon the world body.

The creation of an international force—call it an army or a police force—not in addition to but instead of the armies of the member states is the one demand a world organization is compelled to make on its member states. Without that it can never work.

But the surrender of the right to wage war immediately necessitates the surrender of other sovereign prerogatives. An international force is valueless without the establishment of an international judiciary body which, bound by laws and principles adopted by the member nations once and for all, is able to determine when a case for calling out the force has arisen; and it is valueless without an executive body to do the calling out.



Ferdinand Czernin

I haven't the slightest doubt that there will be nations—perhaps quite a few nations—which for a while, maybe quite a long while, will refuse to take part in any such far-reaching guarantees of a world order.

I do not deny the existence of strong and rampant forces which will try to prevent the setting up of such a powerful world body. I do not deny that there are nations structurally unable to participate in such a world organization. I do not deny that there are nations which must, for a time at least, be denied the right to participate as equals in a world organization.

I cannot contradict Mr. Hoover's recent statement that after this war nationalism may once again carry the day—but I do disagree with Mr. Hoover that this is as it should be. Can we really intend, after having won this war, to shrug our shoulders and return to the jungle of unchecked nationalism, to stumble through the underbrush of customs barriers, to hack our way through the vines of trade restrictions, to have our faces smacked by the twigs of national rivalries and our bodies torn by the thorns of national hatred?

Let us be realistic—nationalism is a force. But let us be realistic enough to know that nationalism is a force which we must combat and for which we must substitute something which is far greater than any nation could be—humanity.

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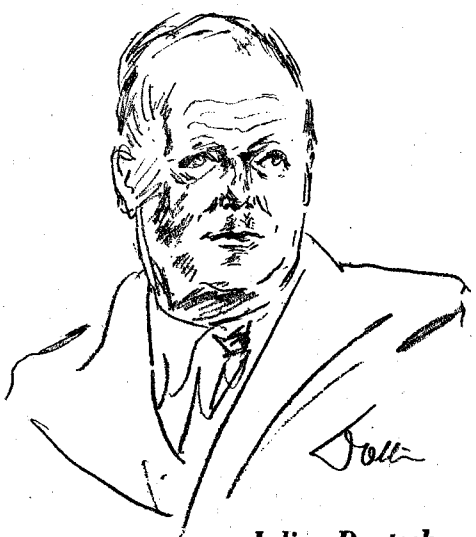
It is easy to call it "globaloney"—and it is easy to laugh at things which seem unattainable. It is very funny to see men reaching for things out of their reach. It is extremely funny as long as it lasts. But it doesn't last forever—for mankind grows with its tasks and the jokers and the skeptics will not prevent mankind from realizing it has to change its ways if it does not want to revert to the Stone Age.

It was an Austrian poet who said, "From humanity through nationality to bestiality"—who spoke those words at a time when he could not possibly have known how ghastly real they would become.

The small nations of the world have accepted the idea of a surrender of their sovereignty to a central body much more willingly than the great powers. You might argue that that is only natural because a small nation has much less to surrender than a big power. There is, however, another side to the picture. Who do you think will drive the better bargain—the big fellow or the little chap—when they pool their sovereignty? Doesn't the big one stand to win, whereas the little one stands to lose all? At this stage in the world's development it is the small nations who have the most to give to the world.

We hear a great deal about four-power agreements, about spheres of interest, about guarantees by the four great powers of the world. It seems to me to be a very dangerous doctrine—that four-power one now being evolved.



Julius Deutsch

Aren't we forgetting that Europe also exists? Aren't we forgetting that while today it has no voice, while today it is suppressed, while today it is the cancer of the world, nevertheless—after the boil has burst—its material resources and its 400 million people will very soon be a considerable power—even if Europe is made up of nothing but small nations?

Absurd as it may sound, the spiritual leadership that will take us toward a world organization is bound to come from the small nations rather than the big. It is they who have suffered most. It is they who realize most clearly that national sovereignty is not worth a tinker's curse: that mankind's and their own salvation lies in democratic guarantees of a world organization willing and strong enough to defend its international sovereignty with international law—and, where that fails, with international tanks, airplanes and the lives of its sons.

Lerner—I should like to call on General Julius Deutsch for a few remarks at this point.

Deutsch—It seems to me that the machinery of the world organization is very important; but more important than the machinery of the world organization is a democratic spirit on the part of the people. Without such a democratic spirit the machinery of the world organization could not work. Of course this democratic spirit is an international spirit. Speaking from my own experience, I feel that the transition from nationalism to internationalism will not be a chimera.

I remember the battle in Vienna in 1934, the first armed fight against fascism. In our ranks then we had not only Austrians and men from the Balkans; we had Czechs and Hungarians and other peoples. I remember that in Spain men from all countries fought in the Loyalist ranks. This is real proof that the international feeling of the masses is very strong. Of course the democratic spirit must be organized.

Let me add that I think the labor movement in Europe is the best guarantee of a free world and an international organization.

Lerner—I should like now to call upon Alvarez del Vayo, who is the executive director of the Free World Association.

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The Next Step

J. **Alvarez del Vayo**—I am going to make a few remarks about a very precise question. There is one danger that I see as very real, especially now that we are moving toward victory—the nazi propaganda that is already planning to exploit the fear (especially in the United States) of chaos or disorder in Europe. We Europeans, who lived through the experience of trying to maintain public order, can speak very frankly to you. If I refer to Spain it is because we had a highly concrete example there of the complexity of the problems to be met in maintaining order. At the beginning of the war the Government of Spain had on its hands the very same prob-

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lem that the free governments of Europe must face after victory—and that the American and British authorities and armies of occupation will face.

It is a problem to be handled with courage, with faith in the people, and at the same time with democratic, popular authority. It is a problem the leaders of the people can't solve alone. With great outspokenness I have told the different authorities, "For heaven's sake, have confidence in the peoples of Europe. Look everywhere for the *real,* popular leadership, and build the maintenance of order on this." I have said the same thing to the various American universities which have asked me to lecture on this subject.

In Madrid, for instance, in September 1936 we faced a most terrible situation. There were extremely well organized acts of provocation from the Right (the conservatives, the fascists, the nazi fifth column). Certain groups wanted the Republican Government to take immediate measures to suppress the explosive violence in Madrid—they wanted us even to depose the President of the Republic.

President Azana, one of the greatest Europeans of his time, was deeply concerned for the good name of Spain. The Republican Government had to face an immediate problem of the maintenance of public order. The alternatives facing it were disagreeable: It could meet the challenge and employ its armed forces in Madrid (at that time very small), against the Right—thereby giving it the pleasure of seeing the headlines in the foreign press proclaiming that Spain had used its popular army to crush the conspiracy. Or it could swallow all these unpleasant things, at the same time building up its democratic army as rapidly as possible. We did the latter. After the war the popular governments in Europe are going to have to deal with situations which in many cases will not be very pleasant. But these popular governments must, and can, find a solution for the problems that will arise.

Intervention on the part of the armies of occupation—armies outside the control of the popular authorities—would be disastrous.

Where information will perhaps not be very precise, and consequently where discussion cannot be informed, I see a clear danger that people will say: "You see, we have liberated Europe. We've sent armies of liberation. We've risked the lives of American boys to liberate people. We've sent food. We've sent the best of everything. But these Europeans continue to be chaotic, to kill themselves in a permanent state of civil war." Then there will be a new form of isolationism that will have nothing to do with Europe—will give it no help whatever.

The best thing to do—and the only thing to do with our American friends—is to gather as many Americans and Europeans together as we can to discuss this problem properly. You can't have an absolutely ideal situation in Europe until the forces of fascism are utterly destroyed. You can't in the name of nobility or of any noble human feeling expect from the peoples of Europe a beatific attitude—an attitude of a Saint Francis of Assisi—toward those fascist groups which are still there and are still very powerful. A popular victory could have been won much more easily in Europe if the United Nations had evolved a United Nations policy: if they had discovered, for instance, that in France they must deal with parties surviving from the People's Front and with the new elements in France; that in Italy they must deal with the elements represented by the friends and followers of Colonel Pacciardi and in Austria with the friends of Julius Deutsch.

The United Nations have had no really organized and articulate policy. If tomorrow Germany should crack and hostilities end we should discover the lack of what we have been asking for—a real United Nations policy. Americans must try to understand that when the Axis cracks, the liquidation of the forces of fascism will raise serious problems of the maintenance of order.

In closing I come back to Spain. We were in no position in 1936 to maintain the order we wanted to maintain. We were constantly confronted with the work of fifth columnists within our borders. But in 1938, after two years of suffering and of effort, public order was absolutely perfect in Loyalist Spain. The years 1936-1938 were two years of popular reform and of Government reform—but only because of the

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collaboration between the people and the Government. With a genuine popular government the problem of the maintenance of order is solved.

Lerner—I don't think I shall have done my duty as chairman unless I try to say, as a listener and as an American, how deeply moved I myself have been by what these European friends of ours have said. I was deeply affected by the warning del Vayo gave us—as Americans—against being deluded, by reports of European violence, into thinking that only the forces of Anglo-American policing and only the feudal and aristocratic and reactionary industrialist elements in Europe are capable of overcoming that violence. I should like to repeat one of his statements—that there is no other solution than to have the popular movements and the popular governments deal with situations which, however unpleasant, they *must* deal with. He asks us as Americans not to fall for the danger of being swayed by what will be depicted as the ingratitude of the European peoples who fail to accept some form of government which we in our wisdom and complacency wish to impose upon them. I think that as Americans we should respond to this warning.

It is rather important that in the world around us today we see the seeds of a possible world order, not only in the fact that people of every nation are fighting under the same standards, under the same leadership, against the same enemies, with the same stakes in the future, but also by what has been happening in this room—the fact that representatives of various nations are able to sit down and take counsel with each other as to the kind of world we want to establish. I myself feel that there is a volcano not only in Europe but everywhere in the world: a volcano of democratic aspirations—the aspirations of ordinary men everywhere for the simple things in life; for an opportunity to woo and to marry; to bring up healthy children with a roof over their heads and a chance at education and a chance at making a living and at making a life. There are ordinary emotions which common people everywhere value—courage and friendship and kindliness and generosity and freedom from hate and freedom from fear.

I call this a volcano which exists everywhere in the world; and I think we as Americans, and also the English and the Russians and any country with the immense potential power we have, ought to recognize this fact. If we try to sit on a volcano we'll find that we have moved from the realm of politics into the realm of geology; and we'll find also that the result will not be health for the world—the result will be something quite different from health. Before this war is over there will be a lot of blood shed. The blood that will have to pay for this war, let us remember, is the blood of living men. The toil that will have to pay for it comes from devoted work. The agony from which the world is rising—and these gentlemen have told us something about the agony of Europe which we in America don't begin to understand—the agony from which the world is rising and the hopes toward which it is turning are deeper and higher than anything in world history. As an American I can only make an appeal to fellow Americans not to betray all these things by pint-sized intentions and niggardly impulses—because if we do we shall have found that we have meanly lost, and not nobly saved, the last best hope of earth.

Max Lerner

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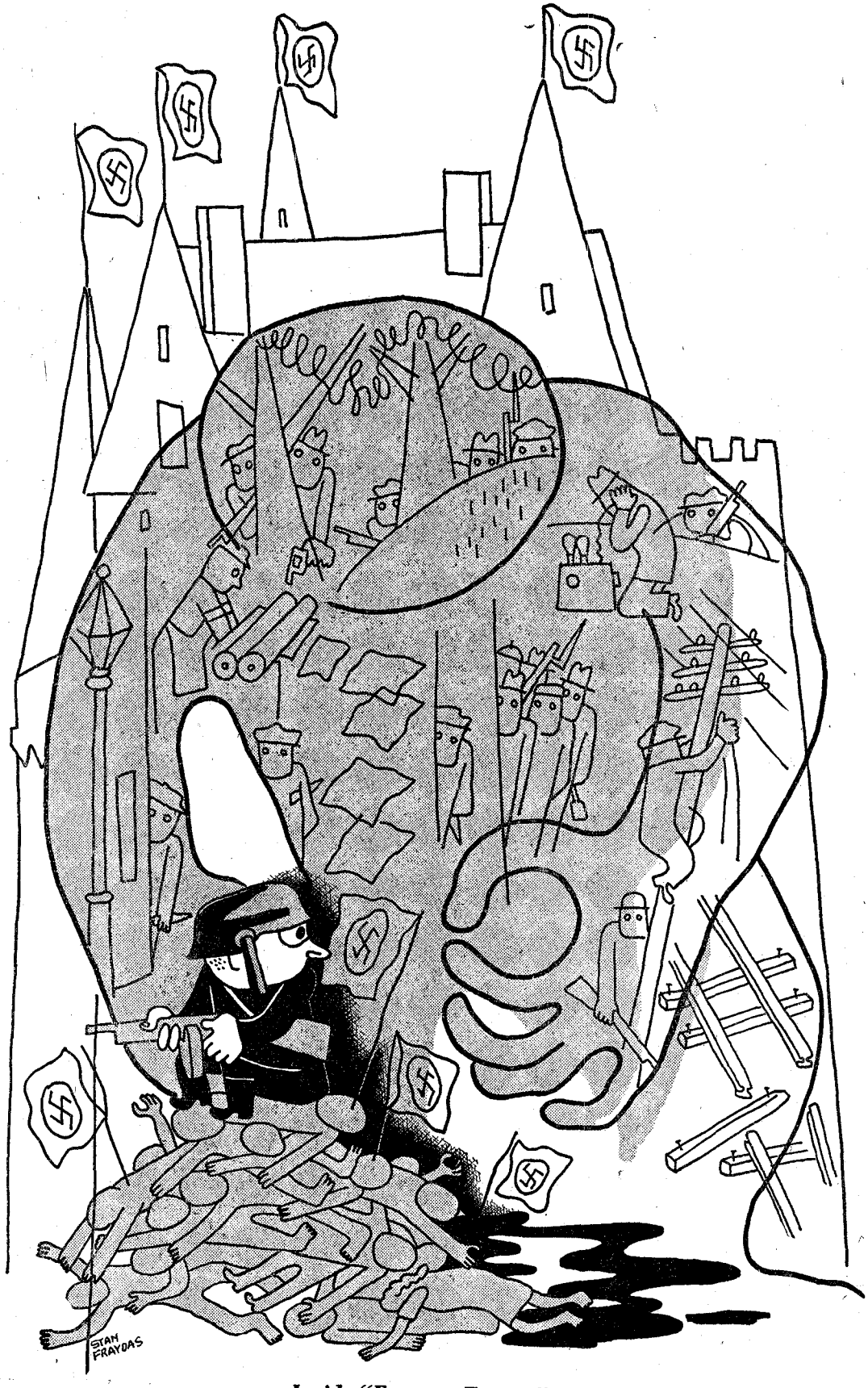

Inside "Fortress Europe"

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The Tragic Face of PARIS

THESE impressions of the Paris of 1943 originally appeared in* Lettres Francaises, *published by French intellectuals and one of the most notable of the underground papers in its editorial skill, its variety and the exceptional caliber of its authors—who must, of course, remain anonymous until France is liberated.

SOME years ago, when the rhythm of Hitler's troops was already resounding through the greater part of Europe, when concentration camps were already lining Austria and Czechoslovakia with their barbed wire, certain French intellectuals, refusing to look truth straight in the face, voluntarily shut themselves off from this world's tumult. They turned to the familiar landscape, which spoke more comfortably to their hearts. Contemplating Notre Dame, the Luxemburg, the Champs Elysées and the quais with their plane-trees which cut the gray stones of the Louvre with fine designs, they said to themselves, "At least this won't change."

Time has passed. Today the rhythm of Hitler's armies reverberates in our own land. On our own soil is hung the barbed wire of concentration camps. Right here in our midst there is plundering, torture and shooting at dawn. Our culture is trampled and the loveliness we had admired no longer speaks to us in quite the same way. The tenderness that ties us to a landscape does not depend solely on its immutable beauty but on a secret emotion as well. The walks, the squares, the monuments of our town—we love them as the flesh and blood of a living city. Our Paris is a Paris alive.

How can we appreciate these witnesses to our greatness in the past when the people who gave them life are riveted down by oppression, when their national traditions are derided, when firing squads daily mow them down in the flesh? Today Notre Dame, the Luxemburg, the quais, the Louvre seem like empty stage-sets in an abandoned city.

Other visions haunt us like nightmares. They are of the prison courts where people are shot; of a column of captives, singled out as hostages, escorted by armed Nazis; of a great ghastly avenue at nightfall—formerly the living artery of a popular quarter, now silent and sinister, traversed by lonely police patrols on bicycles. They are of the Place de l'Etoile, profaned at the stroke of two o'clock by the Hitlerian fanfare that ascends the Champs Elysées. Fifes and drums reverberate with a barbaric music that clashes with the harmonious grace of the great avenue, the delicate sky, the atmosphere and the soul of Paris.

The Champs Elysées no longer belongs to us. The cafés, cinemas and shops are crowded with nazi officers of every hue and by those females in uniform whose insolence and heartlessness all France has learned to gauge. We see them in front of the little shops smiling in triumph at the famished crowds who take a place in a line to get their meager rations.

Other visions obsess us: Streets and houses of our town weighted down with guideposts and with placards clogged up with those endless German words; summerhouses in our suburbs baptized with nazi names, "Karl Friedrich House," "Mecklemburg House"; the many-voiced choruses which resound every minute of the day, not because of a spontaneous need to sing but because of a brusque order—martial songs like "We march like this to the end of the world!" or sentimental songs like "Edelweiss."

"Zart! Zart!" ("Softly! Softly!") roars the instructing sergeant and the barbarians soften their song in an effort to sweeten it.

There are yet other visions: passers-by wearing the "Star of David"; a police car shooting down the boulevard like an arrow to the place where a French cop, under the attentive eye of a helmeted SS, stands guard over a pale man with a bloodstained face.

The Nazis are everywhere.

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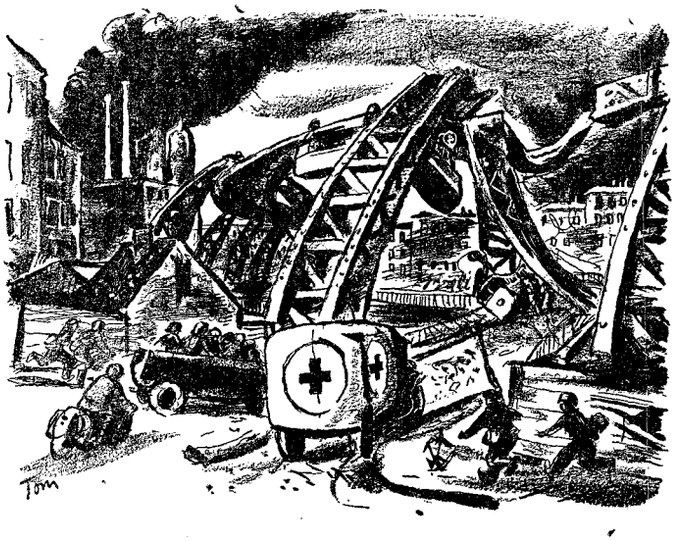

Even at the very heart of our great railway stations they open German Occupation offices. Through the open door one can see a gigantic portrait of their "Fuehrer." In the offices of the great industrial organizations there are more of those nazi officers, to control, organize and govern our production—like a spider at the center of its web. Flags carrying the swastika wave above the Place de la Concorde, above the Place de l'Opéra.

In the main boulevards the sidewalks in front of restaurants and hotels occupied by the foreign army are barred off and cops force passers-by to cross over to the other side of the street. In the evening, at a subway exit, there may suddenly be a police investigation.

At dawn a whole section of the city is searched—25,000 Jews are to be taken off to work in the East. Children, torn from their mothers' arms, are abandoned to their fate. And regularly, hour by hour, Hitler's helmeted bicycle guards patrol the streets, sub-machine guns in their hands.

Even when there is not a German in sight it is impossible not to feel the weight of their presence. Everywhere the overtones of Hitlerism. Everywhere the imprint of oppression. More powerful than all these images, one vision haunts all others—that of the Mont Valérien. It rises, a tragic mass above the workmen's quarters of Paris. From Colombes and from Argenteuil, from Puteaux and from Suresnes, one sees nothing but the Mont Valérien.

One day at dawn the trucks stopped in front of the portals of the fortress and out of them climbed the ninety-eight hostages whom Stulpnagel, with the tacit complicity of the Vichy Government, had ordered shot.

They died heroically, singing the Marseillaise. Among them was Gabriel Péri. Frenchmen of the most diverse origins and beliefs, they were bound together by the same love for their country, by the same desire to fight the oppressor.

The first systematized shooting of hostages was the signal for a massacre of patriots—but also for the mustering of their avengers.

The tragic silhouette of the Mont Valérien rises above the city and at every moment reminds us that courageous Frenchmen have died—and that others fight daily to rescue the independence of our country—in order that the Louvre, the Champs Elysées, the quais and the Luxemburg will again become the jewels of a free Paris.

QUISLING'S TROUBLES

THE International Federation of Trade Unions, in a special report, reveals that "with the approaching possibility of an Allied landing, the situation in Norway has become so electric that insurrection now awaits only a signal from the Government in London. One hundred and sixty more political internees have been deported to Germany from the Grini Camp. The Foldal copper mines were put out of action for several weeks by large and not accidental fires. Following the sabotage of the Mobilization Order the Gestapo has made many arrests, 150 at Oslo in the first three days alone. The strike against forced recruitment was so effective that out of 35,000 workers called up only 4,000 could be installed in the labor compounds. A clandestine trade union newspaper calls for passive resistance to the introduction, as announced, of a 60-hour week in the arms industry and on defense works. Apart from the motives of principle for a refusal, the paper says that the system would be intolerable on grounds of health. At least a quarter of the present absenteeism is due to under-nutrition, to the complete inadequacy of medical supplies and to lack of medical attention. In the past year the number of cases of tuberculosis has risen by 80 per cent. The attempt to press young people of 10-18 into para-military compulsory organizations has failed. Quisling's "Minister of the Interior," Hagelin, has fallen into disgrace, indicating a conflict of cliques inside the nazi organization. Since August the country has been under martial law. In practice this signifies autocratic rule by the German Army and Gestapo.

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Last Letters from Doomed Underground Youths

I did my duty to the end

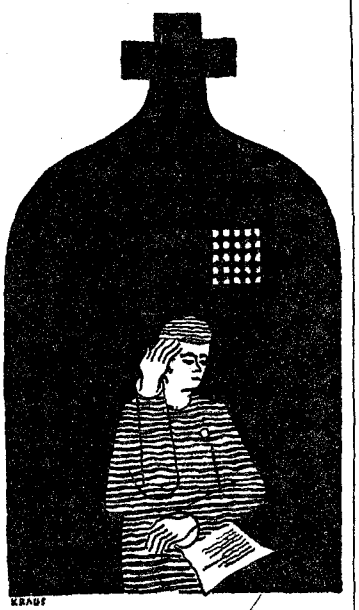
Dear friends, I am finally writing to you because I haven't the courage to write to A—. I am going to die although I am not guilty and I have always tried to do good during my life. Please go to A—. Tell them my last thoughts were of them, of Suzanne, Mimile, of dear little Guy whom I loved so much. I should like them to talk a lot about me when he grows up. I have thought about you too, dear friends, who have tried so much to alleviate the suffering of my last days. Please also tell Lucienne and Jeannot at Auxonne, and Suzanne, Jean and Jeanine at Belau that I am thinking about them very affectionately. I am also thinking about those at E—. I am overwhelmed about my brothers Henri and Fernand, both prisoners. Leave them in ignorance of my death until they come back.

I am very poor but all I own I want to give to Suzanne at A— so that Guy can have it later: my money and the books I liked so much.

My last wish is that you do not mourn me too much. I should have loved to have my body rest in the graveyard at E— near my parents. But I know it is impossible. Please also tell the director of the Ecole Normale that I died bravely, as befits the man he had taught. I am smoking my last cigarette. I am looking at death and I am not afraid. I am going to die as a Catholic, as my parents did. The confession will allow me to sum up my life and to relive it a little. I embrace you as well as all the family very, very tenderly.

René Lafforgue.

ON this page we publish the final letters two young men wrote home before they were executed by the Nazis. Victor Thonet was a Belgian Partisan. Rene Lafforgue was French. After an attempt on a German soldier in Dijon the Gestapo searched the city's schools and found a dog-eared chemistry textbook giving the exact formula for the explosive used. The book belonged to Rene Lafforgue and on this ground alone he was executed. Later on he was found innocent by the court that had condemned him.



I am looking at death

It is exactly three days since I was condemned to death with three of my friends; at this moment I have only eight hours left to live; I am spending these last moments with my friend Raymond Geenen with whom I fought and with whom I am going to die.

I understand very well that the most terrible part of all this is for you, for those who remain; for me it will only be a matter of a few seconds; but give me the final consolation of having courage, as much as I myself have. This will be hard, I know; the loss you are going to suffer will be great; but it will not be fruitless, for I have the satisfaction of dying without having anything to reproach myself with. I did my duty to the end.

Yes, my dear Mamma, I should love to have spent more beautiful years with you. What do you want? Now that the die has been cast it's all over; you must react with courage and be proud of the way I am going to die because it is the way of a soldier, of a fighter who has striven to the end for his ideal. You can realize that I have kept my calm and my serenity up to the last, and that must be a consolation to you; think, also, that you are not the only one in your position and that the sacrifice made by these thousands of mothers will soon bear fruit. I kiss you very hard and ask you to kiss everybody for me.

Victor Thonet.

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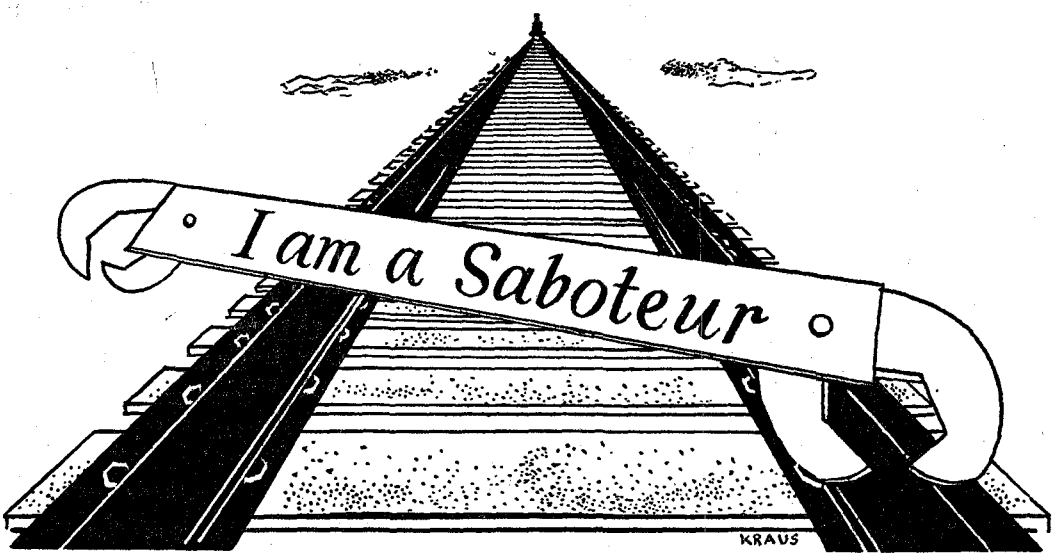

FERNAND—one name will do as well as another—was a saboteur. He is young (only nineteen), well-mannered. He seemed shy; he had an air of effacing himself—like a petty employee who asks nothing but to work quietly. He was the perfect type of employee, and saboteur.

He is now a member of the Belgian Forces in England. But that happened recently. It took him ten months to escape to a free country, to worm his hazardous way to liberty. And he made those ten months count, for he took part in many swift and silent attacks on "them."

Now he desires two things: to join the parachutists and to "give the Germans a sock on the jaw."

About his ten months as an underground worker he says that the most difficult job of all was to get in touch with a secret organization.

The Gestapo is everywhere. There is only one way to checkmate it—to parcel out the jobs to be done to groups of three men. There are hundreds of us but each one knows only two pals. Thus the secret is well kept and in case of an accident the enemy can seize only one cell.

The first raid I took part in was an attack on an electric power plant. I was to keep watch. Everything went off without a hitch.

The next time the aim was to blow up the washing machine in a colliery. At our meeting place we were seven masked men, armed with pistols. No one but the chief knew the identity of the others. It devolved on two of the men and me to subdue the guards. It took only a moment. Beforehand I felt out of place. Afterwards I wanted to laugh. While we took care of the colliery guards our companions placed the charge of dynamite. The operation was a complete success.

Another time, in an attack also directed against a colliery, we were fourteen, hidden in the crypt of a graveyard. The plan was scrupulously prepared. As for me, my two chums and I were to get hold of the power plant. We tied the hands of the guards. Then our electrician did his job. Meanwhile two men went down 170 meters into the mine and came back with a huge load of dynamite. We carried away part of it; we used the rest to blow up the power plant and the engine room.

Still another day we served a dish of our own devising to a handful of traitors assembled in nazi premises: inside a jar of preserves there was a mixture that looked very good indeed—a detonator, a Bickford fuse and a piece of tinder completed the engine left at the door of the

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place. Twenty minutes later there were some beautiful fireworks.

Saboteur by night, I continued during the day to be a perfect employee. But one morning some arrests made in my village led me to understand that it was time to leave.

Fighters Without Uniform

THE underground paper, *France d'Abord,* for April 10 carried this report from the commander of a detachment of franc-tireurs:

We were informed that a train filled with German soldiers on furlough was leaving X each evening. After we had reconnoitered several times we decided to act. My seven men were at Bois-Mesnil at 8:00 P.M. sharp.

After assignments had been given out we advanced two by two behind our scouts. The track reached and everything quiet, we placed the machine gun on a mound overlooking the bank and let the patrol go by.

Then I placed two men on watch at some distance away, connecting them with us by a string lying on the roadbed so that in case of danger we should be noiselessly warned. Nine o'clock! With three men I started loosening the spikes (our wrenches wrapped in old rags), leaving in place four spikes to allow the passenger train to go by.

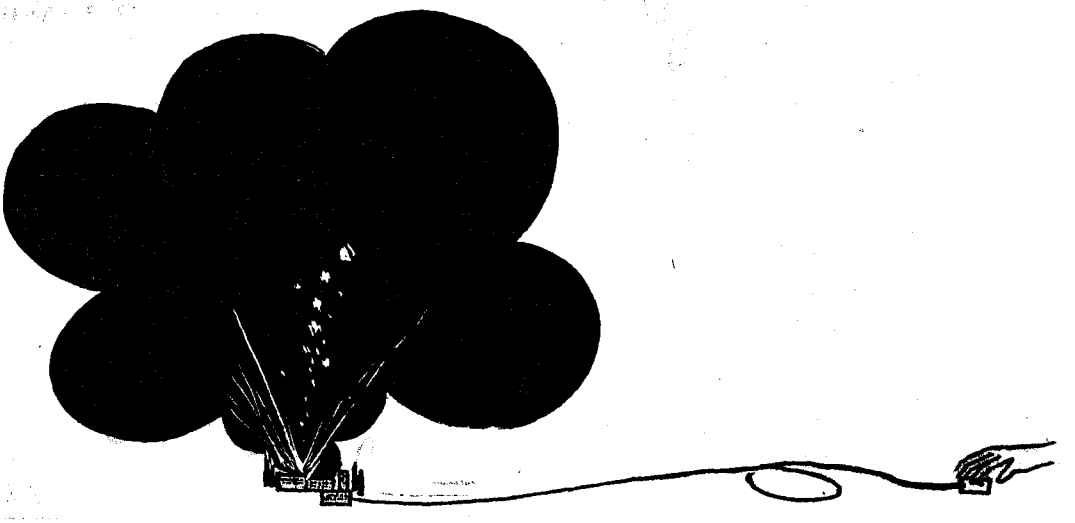
We hid as soon as this train came in sight. Then, during the six minutes remaining before the German train was due, we pulled up the last spikes, slid the rail outward and—to hold the rail wide open—replaced three of the spikes in their holes. We finished just in time to take up our positions on the bank opposite the sabotaged place.

At 9:35 the German train, going at a good pace, ran off the track according to plan.

With all our weapons we directed a rapid and well-sustained fire on the Germans getting out of the least badly wrecked cars and then retreated swiftly according to the schedule planned for each team of two.

We did not meet anybody and the track watchman heard nothing of our work.

There must have been sixty dead and hundreds of wounded. All our men were swell; but matriculate 7,308 was reprimanded for having lit a cigarette while we were waiting for the passenger train.



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FAREWELL to AMERICA

BY

HENRI LAUGIER

I AM leaving America for Algiers. Now, when I am about to part from this free continent, my emotion is great. Under the auspices of FREE WORLD—in these columns where the democratic thought of all enslaved countries and of all those countries that remained master of their own destiny has found expression—I want to tell my American friends of my gratitude, my affection, my faith in the future.

I came to America a few weeks after the French defeat, a few weeks after the surrender that was forced upon the people of France by a conspiracy on the political homefront and that brought together political men and felonious military leaders in a common treason to the country. My distress was great: darkness had spread over Europe; Hitler had no enemy left on the Continent; Russia was neutral; the United States had not entered the war; on her island, England resisted, in heroic isolation. The chances for a victorious recovery were fragile, uncertain, chimerical and, even under the most favorable of lights, terribly far off. I suffered cruelly from the woes of my country, from the woes of Europe, from the immense peril—seemingly hopeless—to liberty and democracy throughout the world.

Since that time three years have passed, in work and in combat. I too have discovered America. I was briefly acquainted with its history. I had known some of the magnificent soldiers whom the United States had sent to French soil during the first World War to fight for outraged freedom and menaced human civilization; in the course of rapid trips I had come in brief contact with university colleagues during technical congresses. I did not know America.

I have discovered the moving warmth of her hospitality; a tradition of fraternal welcome has penetrated the hearts of men and the structure of institutions in this country.

The exile who lands on America's shores receives a welcome that is sweet to his bruised heart and that, little by little, restores his balance, his confidence and his hope. . . . Such a universal affection surrounds France that the French exile, bound by all the ties of heart and spirit to his native land, feels that the cause of France and that of America are intertwined; that never will America allow any power of darkness to erase France from the map of the world.

I have discovered the monumental industrial might of this civilization, confident in the progress of knowledge and technique to subdue material forces and to place them at the service of human liberation. I have seen the speed with which these immense industrial and state organizations are adapted to the new needs created by the struggle for liberty. A Frenchman whose country has been crushed by an accumulation of material power watches with anxious emotion the illimitable power of America's material resources completely concentrated on the destruction of mankind's enemy. In North Africa, where I spent a few weeks, I saw the fruits of this feverish activity gathered together and organized—this activity that within three years has created a powerful army, a formidable navy, an overwhelming air force, equipped with all the modern tools which today assure superiority in combat.

Above all I have discovered a certain alertness of public opinion, based on the right of each individual, each group, cultural or otherwise, to express its thought on domestic and foreign problems—and based also on the respect in which each individual and each group holds the thoughts of others. Nowhere else has this intense effort been more generous than in

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this country; America in this is a model and an example to all nations. Even during the war America has succeeded in maintaining, without restriction, freedom to express the boldest, the most adverse opinions. I have been an attentive listener at so many round tables, so many forums, organized by so many societies, political groups and universities and broadcast throughout American skies; I have seen so many seminars on political affairs, so many study groups on so many diverse problems, domestic or world-wide; that the free information immediately available to the citizen of the United States seems to me the richest in the whole world.

For my part I cannot hide my profound admiration for some of the powerful personalities whose reputation has gone out beyond the borders of the great American Continent. I am thinking of men like President Roosevelt, Vice-President Wallace, Mr. Wendell Willkie. . . . Their political thoughts will have a large influence not only on the fate of the United States but also on the destiny of Europe and the world.

I leave this country, deeply attached to it in heart and spirit. I thank it, as a man, for its fraternal welcome, tonic and strengthening; I thank it as a man of science because its great institutions have put at my disposal and at that of my French colleagues the means of study and research necessary to their intellectual battle; I thank it as a Frenchman, for its effort will be decisive for the liberation of my country.

Above all I wish to tell America of the hope placed in her by the peoples whom nazism and fascism have plunged into desperate suffering and bondage. Today the tragedy we are living through has placed the leadership of democracy in America's hands; and it is these American soldiers who are holding high and firm, side by side with the magnificent armies of the U.S.S.R. and the steel troops of England and the other Allies, that flag of freedom that French soldiers have so often led to triumph. From all the European peoples, mute in their martyrdom, today powerless to defend an ideal for which they have so often fought, rises a silent and heart-rending appeal to America; an appeal to all the generous forces in this great country to consecrate themselves uncompromisingly to the mission of liberation and democratic construction that the times impose on their struggle.

As for myself I have the utmost confidence that this appeal will be heard, that these hopes will not be disappointed. America will be faithful to her vocation, whatever the difficulties she may encounter on this long road. From afar, from the other side of the Atlantic, my solicitous affection will anxiously follow the efforts of American democracy; may it surmount the immense obstacles the conservative spirit will inevitably place in its path. . . . There are days when my disquiet is acute. I have seen my country collapse, I have seen democracy collapse in France because the democrats failed to defend democracy; because men elected by the people had relaxed their control over the army, the navy, finance, diplomacy; because the people of France had been left defenseless against nazi and fascist propaganda; because the leaders of French democracy had allowed the reforming, constructive dynamism of the French Republic to be extinguished; because financial or economic, egotistic and occult powers dominated the press, the parliament and the entire political evolution of the country and made illusions of the mechanisms for the expression of the democratic thought of the nation. I have seen the great bureaucratic structures of my country assume greater and greater and more and more uncontrolled authority over the life of the nation. And it sometimes seems to me that in America, under the cover of war, I observe signs of a similar evolution, heavy with menace for the future.

In defeat France failed to resist these elements of internal dissolution; and French democracy was broken by its enemies at home, aided by the enemy from without. In the victory that is approaching I am confident that American democracy will resist all assaults from within—will render powerless the forces of conservatism or reaction which are already forging her chains; I am confident that American democracy will prove equal to the universal mission which history today imposes on her. At her side in this fight for liberty she will find the French Republic, willing and militant for every sacrifice and every battle.

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A British View on the Postwar World

THE FASHIONING of THE FUTURE GOVERNMENTS of MAN

by

John H. Humphreys

ELECTIONS are not an end in themselves; they give birth to representative assemblies; these in turn provide nations with governments. Many still distrust the application to elections and to representation of the principles of freedom and of justice as embodied in systems of proportional representation — on the ground that proportional representation hinders the formation of stable satisfactory executive governments. As several nations have now used proportional systems for many years we are in a position to compare their experience with that of non-proportional countries.

From this comparison it will be seen that the claim (made in the section of this article published in the November issue) that the application of justice to any human relationship has beneficent results holds good in the sphere of representation. Man is competent to deal with any problem in government that a free and just system of election involves. Indeed the experience already gained indicates the methods by which man can proceed to form and maintain governments in accordance with principles which command his intellectual assent and respect. The application of justice to representation marks one advance in the evolution of government: from this new level man sees new peaks in front of him; they can be climbed.

But before comparing the experience of proportional and non-proportional countries it may be useful to examine the broad grounds on which objection to proportional representation is based.

First, it is contended that the main purpose of a general election is to determine which of two parties shall be entrusted with the powers of government and that correspondence between political opinion in the country and its representation in parliament is of secondary importance. This view of a general election is based on some confusion of thought as to the respective parts played by electors and by parliaments in the government of a nation. All that electors can do is to elect representatives with whose policies they are more or less in agreement. Often they cannot do even this; they can give only a negative vote—that is, a vote that is not a positive expression of the electors' desires but that serves rather to express disapproval of the government of the day. If there are only two parties, however, the result of an election usually indicates the nature of the government that must be formed. But the fact remains that

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parliament is responsible for the formation of the government and also for the formation, without a further general election, of any new government which circumstances may demand. The history of parliamentary government in Great Britain makes this clear.

The Pressure of Public Opinion

AT the general election of December 1910 the electors presumably desired Mr. Asquith to continue in office. During the first World War, which no voter of 1910 had in mind, parliament, exercising its powers, replaced the Liberal Government with Coalition Governments, with first Mr. Asquith and afterwards Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister. In 1918 the electors returned Mr. Lloyd George in triumph but the political forces in that parliament subsequently deposed him. Further, no one voting in the election of 1929 knew that Mr. MacDonald, who was elected as the leader of the Labor party, would two years later form a National Government. This profound change was made by the forces within parliament. The present British House of Commons was elected in 1935. Parliament without a new general election replaced Mr. Chamberlain with Mr. Churchill. In Australia a general election was held during the war. Representation was divided equally between two parties. The electors gave no clear indication as to the government they preferred. Again parliament, exercising its powers, replaced Mr. Menzies' government with that of Mr. Fadden and then with that of Mr. Curtin.

Thus the responsibility for creating and if need be for changing governments has rested and will continue to rest on parliament. Further, in view of the supreme powers of parliaments, correspondence between them and political opinion in the country is of first, not of secondary importance. The inequitable representation —through the large-scale suppression of opinion—of the people of Great Britain has left its mark on the history of the last twenty-five years.

Second, it is contended that it is easier to form executive governments where there are two parties only and that preference should, therefore, be given to that electoral system which tends to reduce parties to two. It is doubtful whether any electoral system can permanently reduce parties to two.

Political conditions are constantly on the move. Fresh parties, such as Labor parties, come into being in order to voice new views and new aspirations. The Labor party of Great Britain entered parliament in 1906, making a breach in the two-party system—a breach not yet healed. At the end of the present war further new political forces may be released in Britain which may demand separate expression. To maintain an electoral law, in the hope of compelling all electors to find representation through two parties only, betrays a distrust of that free use of the human mind on which progress depends. A too limited freedom of choice begets, particularly among those who give serious thought to political questions, a sense of frustration.

Principles of Government

IN most countries there have been for many years more than two parties. In Holland, where over a long period there have been about seven parties, some of the party names (Anti-Revolutionary, Christian-Historical) indicate that they have their roots in the past. Germany's official electoral statistics show that from 1871 on the Reichstag, whether elected by single-member areas or by proportional systems, had six or seven substantial parties. In addition it contained smaller groups, elected more under the single-member than under the proportional system. And France, which has never used proportional representation, has always had many parties. In countries where political conditions are complex, as in India, the results might well be disastrous were parties artificially limited to two.

Thus in the great majority of nations there will be more than two parties whilst in the remaining few there is no assurance that the growth of a third party can be prevented. The postwar free world will therefore have to consider what principles should govern the formation of governments where there are more than two parties no one of which obtains an absolute majority of the seats in parliament.

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Party Cooperation and Government

BELGIUM, which adopted proportional representation for parliamentary elections in 1900, has had more than forty years continuous use of this system. It is therefore appropriate that Belgium should have given an example as to the principles which should govern the relations of parties to parliament and to one another in their first duty—that of providing a nation with an executive government.

In 1925 a situation arose in which no one party had a majority over all the others and there was some delay in forming a government. M. Vandervelde, leader of the Labor party, declared that Belgium "must have a government." The election had disclosed a movement to the Left and M. Vandervelde indicated how in these circumstances a government could be formed. "We make an appeal," he wrote in *Le Peuple* of May 29, 1925, "to all democrats, left and right. We propose that they and we should agree upon a government program to be formed from a comparison of our electoral program with the declarations which they made during the election campaign." A special Labor party conference by 495,481 votes to 108,325 expressed approval of M. Vandervelde's proposals and in the end a government was formed, based on the cooperation of parties for the purpose of giving expression in legislation to the trend of opinion disclosed in the election.

M. Vandervelde emphasized two main principles. In asserting that Belgium must have a government he put the needs of the nation above the program of the party. Just as an international government will require nations to forego some portion of their sovereign powers, so M. Vandervelde recognized that parliamentary national government requires parties to abate their claims to act as though they were independent sovereignties. The first loyalty of a party is to parliament. Second, M. Vandervelde based inter-party cooperation not on unrevealed intrigues but upon principles announced and discussed in public before the government was formed. It is not contended that the working rule enunciated by M. Vandervelde has always been acted upon or that Belgium has not had its special difficulties. Nevertheless the working rule indicates how parties, large and small, can honorably cooperate in the tasks of government.

These two principles—loyalty to parliament and cooperation—have in general (but not always) governed the formation of governments in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland. In Denmark in 1936 the Labor Prime Minister, Herr Stauning, announced that since the nation had not given Labor an absolute majority the government's policy would be that of giving effect to the reforms which the Radical and Labor parties both desired. At the next election the two government parties resumed their independence, each nominating its own candidates in all constituencies. Sweden has used a proportional system for more than thirty years. For some years the government has consisted of more than one party. Today Labor has an absolute majority in both Houses of Parliament. Nevertheless Labor has maintained the principle of cooperation between parties as the basis of the nation's government. Herr Hansson, the Swedish Prime Minister, in an interview published in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1937 said, "I find that I can work as Prime Minister with Conservatives and Socialists who have the common interest of the whole nation at heart. In this sense I believe that all governments of democratic countries should try to be National Governments." Australia, a non-proportional country, presents a great contrast. The Labor party, even during the war, has so far resisted participation in a National Government.

The System Works Well

THE new republic, Czechoslovakia, adopted proportional representation. There were many parties. Governments based on cooperation included Czechs, Slovaks and Germans. Czechoslovakia was the most successful of the new democracies. Until outside forces intervened three German ministers cooperated in the tasks of government.

Switzerland has used a proportional system for more than twenty years. Under its constitution the first duty of a newly elected parliament is to elect a government. The responsibility for forming a government rests without any ambiguity upon parlia-

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ment and not upon the electors. In *Theatre of Life* Lord Howard of Penrith, who acted as Great Britain's representative in several countries, says of Switzerland that "the two fundamental requirements of democracy, first, that government should be an expression of the people's will and, secondly, that it should work smoothly and stably and not be subject to frequent crises, seem to have been met more successfully by the Swiss system than by any other in the world." In his survey of government in Europe after the first World War Harold Butler (in his book, *The Lost Peace,* pages 184-185) wrote, "Only in the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia can it be said that the problem of reconciling strong executive action with the free play of popular representation had been satisfactorily solved." It is significant that for more than twenty years all these countries have used proportional systems without a break.

Critics, however, point out that Italy and Germany also used proportional systems and that their parliaments gave way to dictatorships. Why then did Italy and Germany fail whilst the democracies named above did not? Parliamentary government as practiced in Italy before the first World War was not a good training for the post-war period. Under the single-member system no Italian Prime Minister ever lost a general election. According to *The Round Table* for December 1922 the official inheritors of the enthusiasm evoked by Cavour, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel "discredited parliamentary government by their feeble administration, corrupt electioneering and the arts of parliamentary management, finally perfected by Signor Giolitti." Proportional representation was introduced after the war, but unfortunately the Italian Socialist party reached a fatal decision. At its Congress in 1919 it resolved that "the proletariat will have to have recourse to violence in its own defense and for the conquest of power, and therefore affirms the necessity of taking steps to prepare morally and materially for the struggle." It further declared that "the instruments of bourgeois domination [municipalities, parliament, etc.] are not capable of being transformed into organs for the liberation of the proletariat" and that "only the Dictatorship of the proletariat can lead to the disappearance of classes and hence to the advent of Socialism."[1]

This decision was taken against the advice of the socialist leaders but it was binding upon them, preventing them for the two years during which it remained in force from taking the requisite share of responsibility for providing Italy with a government. Gaetano Salvemini, in his history of the fascist dictatorship, states that in the year 1922, the year of the march on Rome,

> The majority of the Socialist deputies, rebelling against the intransigent Socialists . . . declared themselves ready to support a new Cabinet on condition that it restored public peace. . . . Up to July, 1922, the cause of the paralysis lay within the Chamber itself; all stable coalition was made impossible by the intransigent attitude of the Socialist deputies, and the mistrust which all parties felt toward the Christian Democrats. . . . Had the Socialists taken their decision in July, 1921, they would probably have saved their country from the evils of military Fascist anarchy, and free institutions from destruction. In July, 1922, it was too late.[2]

Principles of Democratic Government

THE Italian political parties had not learned the fundamental principle of democratic rule—that they were responsible for providing the nation with an executive. Their action differed completely from that of M. Vandervelde of Belgium. As Signor Amendola said, "At the door of Parliament there must be abandoned all forms of passion that would hinder a free development of its activity."

Germany requires special consideration. Many writers, including Harold Butler, speak of the "perverse" effects of the German system of P.R. Some go so far as to attribute the downfall of the Republic to its use. The German system was indeed very rigid but Czechoslovakia used the same system. Wherein lay the difference between the two countries? The Republic of Czecho-

[1] Giovanni Giglio, *The Triumph of Barabbas,* pp. 74-75.

[2] Gaetano Salvemini, *The Fascist Dictatorship,* pp. 129-130.

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slovakia was born of victory; the new nation was proud of it. The Republic of Germany was born of defeat; in some measure the republican form was imposed upon the nation from without.

Arthur Rosenberg, formerly a socialist member of the Reichstag and professor of history in the University of Berlin, says in *A History of the German Republic:*

> Many Germans after 1919 were only too ready to ascribe all the misfortunes that happened under the Republic to the Weimar Constitution and to democracy. Impartial historical research is able to refute the greater part of these accusations. For the Constitution as it came into existence in the summer of 1919 was a tool which the German people might have used in a progressive manner for the promotion of Democracy and Socialism. The fact that events developed along different lines was not the fault of the Constitution.

Reasons for Failure

WHAT were the forces outside the Constitution which undermined the authority of the Weimar Republic? Several influential elements in the nation never accepted the Republic or government by parliament. But more important were the powers exercised by the army. From early in 1919, even before the Weimar Constitution was adopted, the army was an independent force. Its power grew. Dr. Rosenberg says, in the book just cited:

> It was a State within the State. No member of the Reichstag ever fathomed the many secret funds of the Reichswehr ministry. The Reichstag might pass any resolutions it liked; the generals organized the army as they thought best. Nor did the Reichswehr tolerate any Minister that was not to its liking.

This is not government by parliament.

Further, Germany had a President directly elected by the people. He was able to exercise great powers, notably in the dismissal and appointment of Chancellors. He appointed von Papen as Chancellor although the latter had but little support in the Reichstag. In July 1932 von Papen, having behind him the authority of the President and the German Army but not of the Reichstag, dismissed the Socialist Government of Prussia. This Government had had a stable majority for at least ten years, but the stable majority was of no avail. Such government by parliament as existed was easily set aside, and this before Hitler's advent to power.

The contrast between the Weimar Constitution and that of Switzerland is instructive. The President of Switzerland derives his position from parliament; he cannot dismiss the government of the nation or of a canton. Switzerland and Sweden have both had a long experience with democratic self-government; Sweden recently celebrated the five-hundredth anniversary of the founding of her parliament. Both countries have maintained their independence in very difficult circumstances. The guidance as to the future governments of man which these countries (with Belgium and the other established democracies of Western Europe) can give far outweighs in value that furnished by either Germany or Italy.

Spain and France, which did not use proportional representation, remain to be considered. In both there were many parties and in both the electoral law favored the party or combination of parties that polled a majority of the votes in each constituency.

In Spain a Popular Front of Left Liberals, Labor and Communists was formed for the purpose of securing victories within the constituencies. To avoid being overwhelmed the Conservatives and the Liberals of the Right formed the National Front. Thus Spain was artificially divided into two halves which became bitterly hostile one to the other. This was one of the factors leading to the civil war. With proportional representation, cooperation could have taken place within parliament after the election. In all probability there would have been formed a government of the Center, probably of the Left Center, that would have been more acceptable to the nation as a whole. As Winston Churchill has said, nineteen out of every twenty Spaniards did not desire the destruction of their parliament nor did they desire civil war. The electoral law prevented the true expression of their mind.

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In France, which is also a non-proportional country, the electoral system, although differing from that of Spain, encouraged preelection compacts. As in Spain, a Popular Front consisting of Liberals, Labor and Communists was formed before the general election of 1936. The Popular Front obtained a considerable majority in seats but cooperation between the parties for the purpose of forming a government was not forthcoming. Moreover the Popular Front inspired fear and unpatriotic action on the part of its political opponents and M. Blum's efforts to form a National Government failed. With proportional representation France would more easily have secured a government (again probably of the Left Center) more truly representative of the nation and more capable of sustained and united control over national destinies. Jean Jaurès, who believed in the value of ethical principles, was a passionate advocate of justice in representation. Ideas move slowly. In 1939, twenty-five years after the death of Jaurès, the French Chamber of Deputies passed a bill providing for proportional representation.

The Postwar Free World

THE building up of a postwar free world will present numberless problems involving elections and government, some of great complexity. If the war aims of the United Nations are to be achieved—the maintenance and extension of democracy, freedom, justice—these principles should find expression in the laws relating to elections. This in itself will not be sufficient. The survey made in this article of countries that are or have been governed by parliaments makes it clear that the success of this form of government depends upon the degree of loyalty that political parties exhibit toward parliament and upon the willingness of parties to cooperate, when necessary, in providing a nation with a government and in giving effect to the views expressed at a general election. It is not to be expected that these principles will enable us to solve immediately and easily all the difficult problems which will arise in the postwar world; but they can serve as a guide that will enable us to thread our way through, and even to induce order out of, the chaos that may result from political, racial and religious passions. Their acceptance by political parties would create the atmosphere in which we can most usefully approach the consideration of the many problems which will confront the democracies.

Each of the United Nations will have its own problems. But in countries like France, which have been occupied by the enemy, and in Italy, Spain, Germany, which have lost their parliaments, there will be special problems. In these countries there will be a demand for executions and reprisals but these, however justified, will not solve the problem of the nation's government and may indeed give birth to new difficulties. Is it desired to restore in France and in Spain the conflict between Popular and anti-Popular Fronts, or, on other issues, to divide the nation into two bitterly opposing halves? Is it desired to restore in Italy "the arts of parliamentary government perfected by Signor Giolitti" or should friends of Italy lay stress, even now, upon the principles of political action, particularly loyalty to parliament, which parliamentary government demands.

India a Major Problem

MANY countries will present similar problems but India, to which Great Britain has made the promise of self-government, will demand all the wisdom that her sons possess. It would be helpful to India if students of political science in the United Nations could indicate at least broadly the outlines of a constitution that would facilitate cooperation in the tasks of government on the part of the many divergent elements in that sub-continent. It may be necessary to embody in the constitution that declaration of the Rights of Man on which H. G. Wells lays so much stress. India has already had practical experience in self-government, experience that contains a warning. The Working Committee of Congress requested the resignation of the eight Congress provincial ministries and these ministries, so strong is party discipline, all acceded to the Committee's request. This action on the part of the Working Committee accentuated Moslem fear and distrust of majority government. The only provincial governments which have contin-

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ued to function are coalitions. Should the governments, provincial and central, of a free independent India consist of members of one party, a party highly disciplined? India presents all the problems involved in the establishment, on a large scale, of a federation of nations. The framing of a suitable constitution would not only be of help to India; it would also help to guide other nations or groups of nations contemplating a federal form of government. Any world political organization must be built up on the governments of nations and federations of nations.

Guarantees for the Future

IT is important that the older democracies give guidance by way of example. The political parties of Great Britain can hardly hope and expect that the different elements in India will act fairly toward one another or cooperate in the tasks of government unless Great Britain herself is willing to do so. In Great Britain the tradition is indeed established that the King's Government must be carried on and, further, in times of difficulty such as the present war, that parties will cooperate to pursue policies held in common. Should cooperation be abandoned as soon as victory is won? Many of the far-reaching measures which national and international reconstruction will entail will require the consent of more than one party for their enactment.

A similar question may well arise in the United States. Wendell Willkie has pointed out that it is America that is waging war and not the Democrats only; presumably America and not one party alone should play its part in the building up of a postwar free world.

In many countries the war will leave behind it widespread feelings of hatred and passion. They should not be permitted to dominate the postwar elections completely. The note of reason may be voiced by a minority only but this should be able to play its part. Methods of election based upon freedom and justice will assure to such minorities their due place in the parliaments of the world. Statesmen, political parties, students of political science should join forces in establishing methods of election which will provide a guarantee that reason and reasonableness shall make a full contribution toward the fashioning of the future governments of man.

They Are Doing Business with Hitler

TO understand the hatred the collaborationists inspire in the patriots struggling against the Nazis throughout Europe we must bear one fact in mind: not only do these collaborationists betray the national ideal; in the midst of misery they stand out as the worst sort of war profiteers.

In their annual statements several French banks and commercial enterprises working with the Germans disclose considerable expansion of business. The Banque Commerciale increased its profits by 200 million francs over last year. Profits for Crédit Industriel soared from 17,800,000 francs to 25,900,000. The Société Lyonnaise increased its dividends by 20 per cent. Rhone-Poulenc showed a profit of 70,000,000 francs and Forges d'Audincourt also raised the amount of its dividends.

Those directors, moreover, who have agreed to serve the Nazi war machine in the several enterprises swollen by German funds are making shameless profits. Meanwhile men whose existence depends on a salary have seen their standard of living drop from day to day. Statistics show that for every 10 francs of added wages, food prices have gone up by 120 francs.

Recently a Vichy official was pitying a woman who had lost a member of her family during an Allied air raid. "You see what these Anglo-Saxon terrorists are doing!" he exclaimed. "If your plants didn't work for the Germans the British wouldn't have to bomb them!" she retorted.

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The World Food Situation

by

Mordecai Ezekiel

Economic Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture

AS we approach the peak of the second World War, farmers in food exporting countries have increased output to offset partially war - reduced output abroad, but military operations, transportation shortages and special war demands have disrupted normal food movements. Overseas, millions of people are starving or seriously underfed, while from England clear across Europe and Asia to China almost all civilians are on short rations. The Soviet Union, China and parts of India are especially short. Germany, though gradually becoming shorter of food, is still far better fed than in World War I. In the United States and the United Kingdom rationing has evened up food distribution and the lowest income groups are somewhat better fed than before the war. Our own civilian rations are still ample, with average consumption of most things still equal to prewar consumption. Looking ahead to relief needs in liberated areas, exportable supplies of basic carbohydrate foods, largely from other food-exporting countries, are ample for relief feeding if they could be moved, but protein and protective foods are short. Maintenance and expansion of local production and fair distribution of the food available are likely to be the great problems in relief operations, however; shipped-in supplies can be only a stopgap to help speed these fundamental correctives.

In World War I the Allies controlled most of the food-exporting areas of Europe and all those overseas. The shortage of food in Germany due to the Allied blockade helped materially to shorten the war, while the threat of the U-boat to English food supplies was successfully countered. In World War II the shoe came uncomfortably near to being on the other foot. Japan's conquests cut off one-third the world's supplies of oils and fats and almost all transportation lines to and within China. Germany controlled all continental Europe and North Africa, overran nearly half of Russia's crop land, seized food and livestock and cut off or threatened British imports. Millions of people perished in the lands looted by the Nazis and the Japanese. Transportation shortages pinched food supplies of all nations partially dependent on imported foods, even in Central and South America.

The challenge has been met. The Mediterranean basin is being freed. The Soviet Union is rapidly regaining her bread basket, though it will take years to restore it to full productivity, and meantime has gotten by on very short rations. Increased food production has helped replace lost supplies, and packaging changes, dehydration and shortening of hauls have made the most of the available ships. The Axis threat to Allied food supplies has been successfully countered. Germany still has access to nearby food supplies and is so nearly self-sufficient for her present reduced rations that there is little likelihood that food shortages there can be as decisive a factor in this war as they were in the last. Every advance of the Allied armies in Europe is now reducing areas subject to German extortions but increasing relief problems for the Allies. If the Balkans and the Danube basin were liberated, food scarcity might again become a major weakening factor in Germany.

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ALLIED FOOD SUPPLIES

IN *England* land under the plow has been increased 50 per cent. Production was shifted from meat and poultry products to bulky foods, like cereals, potatoes, sugar, milk and home-grown vegetables. The caloric value of food produced was increased by over 60 per cent. Where England used to import two-thirds of her food she now imports less than half. Increased production at home, close utilization of every available scrap of food and feed, scanty rations with one-fourth less meat and practically no fresh fruit, and the economical use of available shipping to bring dehydrated milk and eggs, canned or cured bacon and wheat via the short North Atlantic route have provided the food to keep England in fighting trim. While the diet is still adequate for health it is monotonous and unattractive. Rationing plus supplementary food for war workers, school lunches for children, free milk for babies and expectant mothers and vitamins for all have actually raised the diets and health of the poorest 10 per cent of the English people despite the privations of war.

The *Soviet Union* has fared far worse for food. Russians have always lived close to the margin of subsistence; they have depended mainly on cereals and potatoes. The Germans overran about 40 per cent of the U. S. S. R.'s crop land. This region produced 80 per cent of her sugar beets, 60 per cent of her hogs and 40 per cent of her cattle. The Russians were left holding areas normally deficient in food supplies, and with additional millions of refugees to feed. Apparently less than one-tenth of the millions of horses, cattle and sheep in the invaded territories were evacuated by the Russians and livestock losses in the areas thus far recaptured have been very severe.

Despite the acute food shortage the Russian soldiers at the front have apparently been kept pretty well fed. The lack of food was made up by exceedingly short rations for civilians. Most of them have been living for two years now on rations 20 to 40 per cent below normal requirements, even for calories. Strenuous efforts have been made to increase crop and livestock production in Siberia and in partially arid areas in southeastern Russia. Yields in 1943, however, apparently were held down by unfavorable weather and inferior field work while restoration of production in recaptured areas has been delayed by the destruction of equipment, stock and villages. The great Russian victories of 1943 have intensified the food problem for the present, for they have liberated many millions of persons who must now be fed, while the land recaptured can produce little food before the 1944 harvest.

Lend-lease shipments of meat, sugar, oils, canned products, synthetic vitamins and other essential foods have helped considerably to feed the army but have been only a drop in the bucket of total needs. Besides food the Soviet Union needs large quantities of seed and tractors to restore production in the devastated areas—for tractor factories at Kharkov and Stalingrad were gutted by battle.

In *China* most food is usually eaten near the area where it is produced. China has lost about half of her cultivated farm land. What remains in Free China has to support the people previously living there plus ten million refugees. That country never had an adequate diet and is particularly deficient in protective foods.

Usually the only ration furnished Chinese soldiers is grain. They also receive a small money wage. Little additional could be purchased even if a soldier spent *all* his money for food alone. With the inflation in prices, most persons living on salaries or wages find it impossible to get sufficient food. It has been necessary for the Government to distribute food directly to Government workers. Chinese civilians, like Russians, now subsist on rations far below minimum requirements. Crops in 1943 are generally good but severe drought in some large areas and Japanese raids against potential bases for bombing Japan are offsetting factors.

India ordinarily has food shortages in some regions because of excessive population growth relative to food resources, and inadequate internal transport and distribution. These conditions have been aggravated by the cutting off of rice imports from Burma (ordinarily 5 per cent of Indian sup-

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plies), declining rice crops in India, war disorganization of normal transport and increased food requirements for the army and refugees. Rapidly rising prices have encouraged hoarding by producers. While last year's wheat crop was good, and the British have shipped in considerable wheat from Australia recently, there is still acute malnutrition in some parts of India.

The *United States* has increased its food production far more during this war than during the first World War. As compared with the record year's output preceding each war our physical volume of food production increased 12½ per cent during World War I and 28 per cent thus far in World War II. Outstanding increases have been made in meats, dairy and poultry products and oil crops, notably soybeans and peanuts. Increases—such as in the pig crop, up from 87 million pigs in 1939 (an all-time record high) to 127 million in 1943, and in soybeans for beans, up from 4.2 million acres in 1939 to 11.5 million in 1943—help explain why it has been possible to export large quantities of lend-lease foods, feed well our ten million men in uniform and still have as much of most foods available per capita for United States civilians as they had on the average before the war. In fruits and some vegetables unfavorable weather in 1943, anticipated scarcity of labor and rail transport and heavy military demands cut civilian supplies below normal. Exports (including lend-lease) take only 10 per cent of our current food production and our men in the Services 15 per cent. Over-all, these military and export requirements are about covered by our wartime increase in food production.

In the United States as in England war rationing has evened out consumption, raising food supplies for the lowest income groups and reducing those for the well-to-do. In contrast to England, however, there is no over-all shortage of food in the United States.

Wartime incomes have greatly increased ability to buy. This, together with difficulties of rationing and price control, produced local shortages of particular products. Even so, with the wider distribution of purchasing power and equalizing force of rationing, there is probably less malnutrition or hunger in this country today than ever before.

We, and several other exporting countries, are still eating almost as well as before the war. When more transportation is available we shall face the problem whether we should not materially reduce our present ample rations of meat, fresh milk, other choice protein and protective foods and oils and fats in order to ship still more abroad.

Other exporting countries have made similar expansions and readjustments to meet war needs. *Canada* has increased greatly her production of animal products, flaxseed and feed grains and is exporting three times as much cured pork as before the war. *Australia* is shipping as much meat and dairy products as refrigerated shipping can be provided for and is supplying (by reciprocal lend-lease) most of the meat and dairy products for our soldiers in that part of the world. In *Argentina* wheat and corn had piled up until their supply was reduced by the sharp drought in early 1943 and the necessity of burning grain to help offset reduced fuel imports. Practically all Argentine beef available is moving direct to England as her nearest source. Beans and vegetable oilseed production are being increased in *Brazil, Mexico* and other countries. In many *South* and *Central American* nations wartime shortages and defense expenditures have driven prices up out of line with wages, with resulting difficulties for workers in getting sufficient food. In *Cuba* there is ample sugar for export, both refined and in uncut canefields. Vegetable oil production is being expanded on the west coast of Africa, by bartering trade goods with the natives. *North Africa* produces wheat, barley, olive oil and wine for export. Its liberation reduced the food supplies of the Axis and will provide some near-by supplies for European relief.

Continental Europe is producing about 90 per cent as much food as before the war and civilians (including Germans) are receiving four-fifths of their prewar diets. Some farm populations are still living at prewar levels while diets of most urban civilian groups have been drastically curtailed. In 1942 European crops were above prewar levels for potatoes, sugar beets and vegetables but grain was 10 per

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cent below the prewar level. The loss of feed imports forced sharp reductions in livestock numbers and milk production in northwest Europe, even though increased quantities of sugar beets and potatoes have been fed. Cattle population has fallen about 10 per cent; hogs about 25 per cent; and dairy production has been sharply reduced. Preliminary reports for 1943 indicate that European crops are about the same as last year, with more grain and oilseeds but fewer potatoes. The increase in oil is probably offset by continued reduction in animal fats.

AXIS NATIONS AND OCCUPIED AREAS

GERMANY has suffered far less for food in this war than in the last. She had already raised her self-sufficiency to 83 per cent before the war and is now 90 per cent self-sufficient in calories. Food seizures, levies on the conquered areas, and armies "living on the country" outside Germany have helped maintain her food supplies, especially of more valuable foodstuffs. Her imports from near-by countries have run over half of her total prewar food imports. Food rations were imposed promptly at the start of the war, prices were stabilized with almost no increase and black markets were controlled by death penalties. Food has been used as a deliberate instrument of war and conquest. The peoples of certain occupied areas, and minority groups within both Germany and the occupied areas, notably Poles and Jews, have been kept on starvation rations, with widespread malnutrition and outright starvation.

German civilian rations are about one-half below prewar levels in fats and meat but calories and protein are maintained within 10 per cent of normal levels. Two-thirds of the energy is now derived from bread, sugar and potatoes as compared with about one-half before the war. Whole grain bread, synthetic vitamins and increased vegetables have helped maintain health on this lower-quality diet.

While Germany has now lost the citrus fruits and vegetables she imported from Italy she still has access to fish from Norway, butter, eggs and meat from Denmark and the Netherlands, grain and vegetable oils from the Danube basin and fruits and vegetables from southwest Europe. Grain crops were poor from 1940 to 1942. In 1943 crops were generally fair, but potato crops seem to be short and civilian rations have been recently reduced in both meat and potatoes. Acreages of potatoes and vegetables, however, have been greatly expanded above prewar levels and fresh vegetable consumption is more than one-half larger than in prewar years.

Thus far, food shortages have had only a negligible influence on Germany's fighting ability.

Other Enropean countries are in far less favorable situations, with the exception of Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal. In the countries that previously depended heavily on food imports, like Belgium and Norway, supplies are very scanty; while in areas ravaged by military operations or civil war, like Poland, Greece and Spain, the situation varies from malnutrition to widespread hunger, especially in large urban centers. But the famine situation in Athens and surrounding areas has been relieved somewhat by increased production and Red Cross supplies. Throughout occupied Europe, notably in northern Italy, France and the Balkans, disorganization of transportation and marketing machinery, and reluctance of peasants to sell when there is a scarcity of goods to be bought has led to acute shortages in metropolitan regions and food deficit areas, while farmers have been enjoying practically normal diets. The cutting off of North African imports to France will lead to further deterioration in her food supplies.

Japan is nearly self-sufficient in foodstuffs except for rice, of which it imports one-fifth. There are large rice supplies in occupied territories and in Japanese possessions nearer Japan. Her imports of Manchurian soybeans are falling as a result of farmer resistance to Japanese exploitation. Fish, Japan's main source of protein, may be reduced by scarcity of materials and manpower and by naval operations. Even so Japan has probably been relatively little troubled by food shortages.

The territories occupied by Japan are mostly food surplus areas. Where agricul-

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tural operations have been kept up there is probably ample food, though with some shifts in diet composition. In occupied China the food situation is bad. Some farmers in the central area probably have enough food but there are many areas of extreme hunger. Reports from Hong Kong indicate deaths at the rate of 1,000 per day. Other cities have declined to one-fourth their prewar populations and, in one case, to one-tenth. Another acute spot is British Malaya, which formerly exported rubber and imported two-thirds of its rice. With the reduced markets for rubber within Japan's "co-prosperity" sphere Malay's normal rice imports may be sharply reduced, with resultant malnutrition and sharp pressure to increase food production.

RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

RELIEF and reconstruction have already started in North Africa and Sicily. Normally these are both food-exporting areas. Except for emergency feeding until the disorganization produced by actual warfare and depletion of stocks due to German takings could be corrected, relief there has been largely concerned with supplying essential raw materials and industrial products to get their transportation system and normal production again in operation. So far as food is concerned North Africa is already an asset rather than a liability.

Experience in these two places indicates something of the general character of the relief problem though deficit areas and those which have been extensively ravaged by the Nazis will present more acute relief problems. Continental Europe as a whole is ordinarily about nine-tenths self-sufficient in food. That means that a reduction of 10 per cent in local output would double import requirements. As the situation now appears to an agricultural economist then, here are some of the things that it seems to me will be important in relief operations. Relief authorities may find, of course, many other facts they will have to take into consideration in developing their policies. They will need

1. To bring in the food immediately needed to prevent starvation.
2. To restore transportation and food distribution and to see that the food that is available is distributed as fairly as possible. This involves bringing in goods needed by farmers, to exchange with them for food.
3. To see that local production of food is maintained as fully as possible or even increased.
4. To use the relief food which can be brought in (a) directly to supplement local supplies so as to correct the most severe deficiencies among areas or groups, (b) to encourage the maintenance or prompt resumption of normal civilian activity in the liberated areas and (c) eventually to aid in rediversion of crops from direct human food to feed for rebuilding livestock herds.

As relief merges into rehabilitation there will be further problems of shifting agriculture and industry to more efficient and economical measures than those developed in preparation for war or under war conditions. For example, Italy in the past increased wheat production, at very high cost, in order to be more nearly self-sufficient. Once sufficient shipping begins to be available should Italy be encouraged to grow less wheat and to produce more specialty products for export? Will world political conditions become stable enough for countries to be ready to abandon such policies of expensive self-sufficiency? Whether the world resumes more healthy and helpful international cooperation or the nations soon start preparing for a third World War may depend on the way such questions are answered in actual practice.

Despite all that can be done to maintain and expand food production, European food import requirements will be large after the war. In addition there will be substantial requirements for other areas, notably the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. These demands may make it impossible to bring consumption back to prewar levels immediately. England has already stated her intention to hold her consumption down to present rationed

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levels during the relief period to help provide relief food.

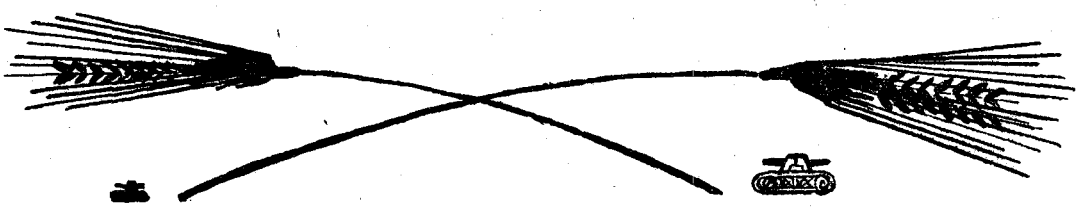
While crop yields may be restored in a few years after the fighting stops it may take many years to rebuild livestock herds and to supply draft power, especially in the seriously devastated areas of Poland and Russia. Increased overseas demands for our livestock products, and even for livestock themselves, may continue much longer after this war than after the last. If the plans laid at the Hot Springs Food Conference for establishing better levels of consumption, especially of protective foods, can be carried into action, the food demand of importing countries will remain permanently on a much higher level than during the decade of the 1930's.

Although United States food exports have been of great service to the Allies we are not now the major source of export food for war or relief purposes. If transportation were available to move them there are 62 million tons of food exports available to the United Nations in 1943 (largely wheat and sugar). Of this terrific total only 6 million tons, or one-tenth, would come from the United States. That is partly because the bulk carbohydrate foods—wheat from Canada, Australia and Argentina and sugar from Cuba—total far more in weight than the concentrated and scarce foods the United States is exporting. Several other products come entirely from other countries. We are supplying one-quarter the butter and fats and oils exports, one-third the cheese and meat and half the canned fish, dried fruit and beans. In canned and dried milk, dried eggs and tobacco, however, we are the major United Nations source, supplying around 90 per cent of each.

In the one food group where supplies are shortest, meat, the exporting nations could increase their exports materially if they were willing to reduce their own consumption below previous levels. If the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay were all to reduce their present meat consumption by 20 per cent that would increase the quantity of meat available for export by about three-fourths.

But as a whole, exportable supplies are in excess of available shipping. The basic carbohydrates, wheat and sugar, are materially in excess of what can now be moved. During this calendar year over 1¼ billion bushels of wheat will be available for shipment—nearly twice as much wheat as usually moves in the entire world trade in a whole year. Movement of Canadian grain surpluses is hindered by shortages in rail and Great Lakes transport, due to iron ore shipments. Exportable surpluses of concentrated protein and protective foods, especially dairy products, meats and dried fruits, are in short supply compared to present and prospective requirements, with exportable meat supplies particularly short. Rice, also short, can be replaced by wheat.

To date, the limited shipping available has been used mainly to move such supplies of these more valuable and concentrated protein and protective foods and oils as are available. As we or other countries can increase our production or exports of these essential and scarce foods they will find immediate use for war and relief purposes. The rest of the available shipping has been used for the more bulky carbohydrate foods. When the conquest of Germany releases more shipping, these stockpiles of high-energy foods will provide the backbone of relief feeding for many peoples now starving.



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Silent Millions at the Council Table

by

William O. Douglas

Justice of the Supreme Court

WE are living in an era of fundamental change. One age is giving way to another. The process of change was set in motion before the present war began. The war is indeed a violent chapter in its history. But this war—huge and disturbing as it is—is hardly the last chapter in the transition.

The war is a challenge. It is a challenge not only to our ability to produce guns and tanks and planes and to use them in the field. If that were all we should not be talking and thinking about the future as we all are doing today. But the war is more than the immediate challenge of military might which we are meeting so triumphantly. It is part of a continuing challenge to our whole way of life.

Military victory will not automatically provide a solution to those problems. Something more will be required of us. Our moral stamina as well as our fighting strength is being tested. For it is up to us to prove that our democracy can adapt itself to new circumstances yet carry with it the values it has achieved in the past. This war is a test—a test of our wisdom, and our strength and our faith.

China, Britain, Russia—each passed the test of survival. Their successes were not lucky accidents. They were genuine victories, earned by millions of people. They demonstrated a basic principle of history. Each battle proved that national integrity is a prerequisite of national survival. The cases of China, Britain and Russia show that, in time of supreme national crisis, when a people have only their faith left to fight with, they can—if they feel they must—convert and transmute their national integrity into a decisive weapon of national defense.

We need not be concerned when the minds of the American people are in a ferment of doubt. Trial by doubt is an ordeal from which nations, like men and women, gain both wisdom and stamina. Nor should we be frightened when a world crisis provokes a mood of self-questioning among us. This doubt, this self-questioning, is not mysterious or humiliating. On the contrary it is a challenge which a vigorous and healthy people must always welcome. It is a challenge which should make us glad to be living at a time when so much is demanded of us, when entire nations can rise to heroic heights. In the history of mankind turbulent years are more nearly normal than placid ones. Societies either advance or they disintegrate. That is, perhaps, the first law of life.

Any era of transition or change provokes uncertainties. The old dogmas are no longer sure. The old truths seem to have been refuted. At such times—and especially when

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the climax of a great and bloody war is approaching—the whole basis of life is invariably altered. We cannot know what will come to take its place. But we may all be sure that the end of this war will be the signal for the beginning of a new struggle: a struggle of a different kind. It will be on the moral and social front. Upon our skill and wisdom in that endeavor will depend our chances of building successfully a new America; of shaping her to our historic ideals; of making her new stature a guarantee of freedom, of strength and of promise to the world; of saving a new generation from the terrible necessity of having to fight another world war.

We cannot escape the test nor evade the issue of pretending that the familiar world of the past sixty or seventy years is more than a memory and a tradition. We were brought up to live by its facts and ideals. We honor our past and we propose to live by our traditions—not blindly but selectively and intelligently.

America's Dynamic Past

AMERICA has never stifled life; it has always grown. America has never worshipped any imaginary absolute of perfection. As a people we have understood that a gulf must always separate what men have from what men want. That is why we are tireless in our pursuit of the better.

America has endured, America has remained true to herself, because she has changed many times. The men who created this country knew that empires and eras, like people, grow old, become feeble and die. The men who have spoken for this country in every chapter of her growth have known it too.

In the same spirit of reverence for our dynamic past, with the most profound determination to use the great American tradition as a living guide to the world about to be created, we must admit frankly that the world into which we were born has died. We dishonor our past if we deny the challenge of today. We, the generations now living, have a great historic chance to preserve the ideals we inherited. It is the same chance our fathers had. But it is also up to us to discover new goals, to find the new truths which the new age we are moving into will need, if the Americans of the future are to be proud of their history and traditions.

The task will not be easy. We'll have to make up our minds to live with our doubts and with our worries, with the problems to which no one today can give a simple or positive answer. While we must not underestimate the job, neither must we let its complexity—its immensity—appall us. This is not a country of men who are refugees from the past. This is not a nation of men and women who cling to the past because they do not understand the present and because they fear the future. Nor is it a country of men who are willing to sell their souls for a promise of security. This is a country of men and women who will accept the challenge of what lies ahead—all of them ready to do their part; all of them living with a sense of responsibility to their children and to the American Creed they want to hand on to their children's children.

The last great period of change and growth which America went through, some eighty years ago, was more like our own than we have been brought up to think.

The 1840's and '50's were a time of social ferment and intellectual probing. People were beginning to reexamine the values that their parents and grandparents had lived by. New religious groups sprang up just as new political ideas have done in our day. And the period was climaxed by a war as bitterly fought and as fundamental in the changes it brought about as any in history.

New Challenges

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was not only the protagonist of his age. He was the symbol of all its inner meaning. No man could have been more tortured by doubt. No man could have felt more deeply the consequences of the action he knew he must take—action that he was sure was right—and yet that destroyed a way of life and meant death for thousands of young men.

Lincoln met the challenge of his own time successfully. But no one knew better than he that there would be new challenges to meet, new periods of change and doubt, new ages of transition and revaluation. Some of the problems of his age still face us. Lincoln left us no panacea, no lifeless and

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entire peace. He handed down to us, rather, an opportunity to preserve America in its own image, an opportunity to build anew. What he felt and thought and suffered is a barometer for all the spiritual striving and search of his era and a measure of its heritage for us.

Out of the confusion and disorder of that day came one of the most vigorous and lusty periods the world has ever seen. The age of crude growth and ruthless strength is not one that we want to repeat. But the vitality and the promise of our post-Civil War life were as real as its crudeness. There is no reason for us to think that America cannot experience such growth again. Out of our own experience can come a spirit as powerful but wiser, a purpose equally determined but even better fitted to the world of tomorrow.

New Liberties

THE Civil War decision that all labor in America would be free labor ushered in the greatest, most dynamic of all industrial revolutions. To some, looking back today, it is a golden age of enlightened self-interest and free enterprise. To others it is the dark story of the marauding barons of high finance—of exploitation—and nothing more.

Neither of these views tells the story, which is far more dramatic than any special pleading can make it. The last eighty years saw us grow from a sprawling, adolescent, importing economy to an industrial power greater in many ways than all the rest of the world put together. Our wilderness became farm land, our frontiers were transformed by blast furnaces and machine shops and factories of every kind. We were needlessly wasteful of our resources and we left problems and evils in our path. But we made more things than any nation had ever made before and we gave more of them to more people. We were America. We were the trail blazer of the world. We pictured abundance to succeed scarcity. And we groped toward that goal.

But what we gave to our people—what our people made and took for themselves—was not just wealth and material things. We also made new liberties. No nation has ever been free as we have been free. Nor did any nation ever dare dream of growing as free as we did. The immigrants from Europe who came to our shores had heard stories—incredible stories—of gold in the streets and shoes for everyone. But it was the other stories they heard, the stories that had the word liberty in them, that also brought them across what was then the wide Atlantic. It was the news that you could say what you wanted and think what you wanted in America; that you could worship your God or argue about Him as your conscience told you to; that you could become a citizen and vote for the people who governed you; that you did not have to cringe before officers in uniform; that your children could go to school, free school, and learn to read and write and grow up to be somebody. They learned that civil liberties meant not only their right to say what they liked and the other fellow's right to say what he liked. They learned that the true meaning of those liberties was the right of the other fellow to say what they did not like.

Because of these things they learned to live together with other people whose fathers their fathers had always fought in the Old World. They and their children became Americans. They came and they worked and they fought as they are fighting now. They learned how to speak their minds and make their needs and desires felt while accepting the equal right of people of different views to do the same. They made themselves a place alongside the descendants of the older waves of immigrants. Because they could do this, because it was the freest land in the world, America became the richest.

New Opportunities

THAT is a primary lesson we can learn from the earlier era of American development. Our people won new liberties. They did not reach utopia. No one ever will. But within the wide framework of those new liberties we were able to produce the good things of life more abundantly than any other nation. Our wealth and our power have been a direct outgrowth of our freedom.

In that connection let us not forget that in the last century we offered the common man something few other nations did—opportunity. He was not bound by inherited class distinctions. He could make money, win

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professional distinctions, acquire political power within the framework of a republic or simply pursue his own idea of happiness as he wanted within the bounds of a reasonable penal code.

Those are the ideals of freedom and liberty that have made us the inspiration of the world. Those are the ideals of liberty and freedom for the individual which we must never lose.

Now that our position in the world—our very existence as a nation—is being challenged, all Americans are considering what our policy toward the rest of the world should be when the war is won.

Some say the rest of the world is no concern of ours, that we ought to let it stew in its own juice while we devote ourselves to solving our own problems. Others feel that our problems are merely a part of international issues and that we must take on the responsibility for solving those international problems before we can expect to get anywhere with domestic questions. Each group is convinced that only the attitude it advocates will protect our liberties, and that to follow the rival course would ruin democracy in America.

If we look at the influence on the world that this country has had in the past we may get a clue to how we ought to behave in the future. It is perfectly true that our domestic problems are part of a larger picture. All that we do to solve our problems at home is immediately radiated out to the rest of the world.

At the same time we should not forget that every other nation knows more about its own troubles and problems than we do or ever can. No matter how high our ideals or motives we can hardly qualify as managers of the affairs of other nations. What may be good for them may be anathema to us or vice versa. The history, the traditions of people vary throughout the world. Each must work out its own destiny. We should let others have the same free choice that we reserve for ourselves. Even if we wanted to we could not assume sole responsibility for solving international problems. Moreover we must not disparage and underestimate other peoples' ability to help themselves.

But there is a great deal we can do. We cannot force other countries to act as we wish or to emulate our way of life. But if America continues to be a country worth following she will be followed. If our standard of life and our respect for the individual and his freedom are still vital and inspiring they will inevitably awaken similar desires in other lands. But other peoples must feel that our attitude toward them is friendly. We must show them that we are more than a great tutor; that we can learn as well as teach.

The world is going to need—and it will welcome—as much competition as the people of America have always insisted on at home.

Above all our word must be good.

Our World Problem

LIBERTIES cannot be forced upon people. But we can kindle the imagination of the citizens of other continents with the idea that they would do well to achieve such liberties for themselves. After all, nothing succeeds like success. We cannot expect our prestige throughout the world to rise above the level of our own accomplishment at home. Our world problem, far from conflicting with our domestic job, should stimulate us to do it better. If we want the security of friendship with like-minded neighbors we must show the world that our democracy can outperform any other system. No counter-propaganda can stand against that.

In the era now ending we have been the inspiration of the world, the symbol of progress to even the most progressive countries. To keep the American tradition alive we must continue as the trail blazer of the world in the age now dawning.

During the crisis of Lincoln's day the political party in power in England was ready to enter our Civil War against the North. It was the common people of Britain who stopped the move. The war meant hardship to the textile workers of Manchester, thrown out of employment because the northern blockade was cutting off supplies of cotton. But although the British Navy might have broken the blockade and put them back to work, although gentlemen across the sea who were supposed to be so wise were for war, the textile workers protested. America was not just the country that sent them their raw material. America

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was a dream in their hearts. They would not fight her. They would not let their rulers make war upon her.

Those people are allies worth having. They are the ones who said in England four years ago, "We will have no more appeasement. We will honor our obligation to Poland." They are the ones who three years ago stood up when hell rained on London and Coventry, on Bristol and Portsmouth. They are the Chinese farmers who turn soldier by night, who keep Japanese rifles hidden in their huts and blow up bridges with homemade hand grenades and risk torture that China may live. They are the Russian people who held at Stalingrad and today roll back the nazi hordes toward Berlin.

Those silent millions are our real neighbors in the world now being born. They are taking the place of the decadent and irresponsible castes that traditionally controlled Old-World politics. They have moved closer and closer to the council tables where power politics has always flourished.

Those silent millions—the common people of the world—are paying for the war—as they have paid for all wars—with their blood and their suffering. They insist that the world of tomorrow offer more to youth than the creed of cynicism. They insist that the world of tomorrow not make a mockery of those killed and sacrificed in this war.

We failed in 1918. We must be wiser this time. We must attain new maturity if we are to make our victory in this war a fitting end to the struggle that achieved it. Our chances of success increase with the ascendancy of these silent millions to a greater position of power.

To fight in the manner of the Allies a nation must have more than a fine army and good equipment. There has to be an idea in the hearts of the people, soldiers and civilians, that will give them something to balance against the supreme sacrifices of war.

A Community of Millions

THE fighters and the workingmen and women of the Allied nations are not waging war on the basis of lies and deceptions and false promises. They have ideas about what they expect their world to be at the end of the war and how they want to improve it. Those ideas are largely private and unexpressed but they are there. You might call them individual war aims. But they are private and personal only on the surface. Underneath they are so widespread and universally held that they point to fundamental change in the shape of the world, to more freedom and better material conditions for all.

That combination, that determination to gain new liberties and higher standards of living at the same time, is very American. If the fiery hope for freedom is the heart of the dream the material gains are its outward symbol. Today that American dream is burning all over Europe and Asia. It burns brightly in the lands successfully closing in toward victory. It burns sullenly and obstinately in the hearts of the conquered who await a new day. It has now been kindled anew in Italy. With the end of the war it will shape itself into a drive of such force that it can be ignored by none.

On the material plane we see first of all an irresistible pressure for a universal rise in living standards. There will be a demand for material necessities and the luxuries of life even from the most backward economies. To meet that demand new industrial areas will appear and old ones will grow larger. What happened in America sixty and seventy years ago will begin to happen in other nations throughout the world.

That new industrialization need not be a threat to us. The increased productivity of one nation can profit all its sisters. A higher standard of living in Europe and Asia and Latin America will mean enormously increased markets for our goods. Nothing could be more fallacious than the ancient theory that backward peoples can be exploited as outlets for industrially produced goods. Even if backward peoples want such goods they do not have the money to pay for them. Profitable trade can exist only between countries on a fairly equal footing economically.

We should not be disturbed if the other nations of the earth begin to grow more like our own. In fact America can expect to profit from the economic gains other continents are sure to make in much the same way as America's industrial East is bound to gain from the development of new productivity in the West.

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With more and more things in common with other nations we can come closer and closer toward a real and functioning community of nations. And we must not forget that any real community of nations can exist only among equals. Our own history proves that.

Some think our period of leadership in the world is ended. Some say we shall have to yield our position of trail blazer to some other more dynamic power. But I cannot agree. I believe that we shall go on to realize a way of life better than any that has ever existed before. America is not decadent. It has never been so strong. Its truly great achievements lie ahead of it.

The future will be strange to us. Its problems will be new. They will be more difficult than any we have had. None of us knows what new thing we shall make together here in America during the years of trial and struggle ahead.

But of one thing I am sure. What we make will not be a denial of our past. America will reverence freedom as it always has. We shall not surrender or compromise our ideals of liberty and freedom for the individual. We shall not lose the basic civil liberties guaranteed at the birth of our country in the Bill of Rights and supplemented during the years of our growth by Congress and the courts.

Those rights are the touchstone of what we must demand from the future. So long as our citizens are free to think, to write, to speak, to vote as they please we can never be untrue to ourselves and our past—and we can never fear to compete with any nation for a position of moral leadership in the world.

Neutrals Use a New Language

NEUTRAL countries are reacting with an unaccustomed strength to the measures Germany wants to impose on them. On October 28 German authorities informed Sweden she could no longer count upon safe conduct for her traffic. By a unilateral act Germany cancelled the custom of permitting a limited number of ships to pass through the double blockade with the consent of both belligerents. This suspension was due to the Swedish Government's decision to allow two Norwegian ships, the "Dicto" and the "Lionel," chartered to British authorities, to leave the port of Gothenburg at any time they chose.

The invaders had the nerve to tell Stockholm that the aggressor acquired an exclusive right to take over Norwegian ships. But the Swedish courts, in defiance of the Germans, decided that the free Norwegian Government retained the right to charter ships to the British. And with the Swedish-German trade agreement expiring in December the Stockholm press urged that "it would be inadvisable to sign any new trade agreement unless this question is satisfactorily settled." The Swedes are not afraid of German reprisals. They realize, furthermore (as *Dagens Nyheter* pointed out), that the humiliation of a complete blockade will not last long. "If Germany will not, perhaps war developments will grant passage to both Sweden and its neighbors."

The Germans—routed in Russia, steadily pushed northward in Italy, their cities lying open to Allied bombardment—will understand this language. The time when von Ribbentrop could terrorize the neutral countries is over. Nazi defeat approaches and neutrals are beginning to use a new language.

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Agrarian Problem of Southeastern Europe

by

Emil Lengyel

SOUTHEASTERN Europe has a very serious peasant problem and it will require a global solution. It is not merely a question of how to distribute land among the peasants. Land is not enough. A number of other things must be done before we may call the problem solved. Nor is the land problem in Southeastern Europe just one of those esoteric questions of detail that interest merely the expert. Peasant Europe has been a powder box for centuries. The present world conflagration began there. It will burn or smolder until the people of this region are enabled to work out their salvation.

The region extends from the gates of Vienna to the Golden Horn of Istanbul, and it comprises half a dozen countries with a total population of some sixty millions. Among these countries Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria are listless Axis satellites at present, while Greece, Yugoslavia and to a lesser degree Albania belong to the Allied Underground. European Turkey is too small to be counted. These countries form a part of the vast peasant Europe, stretching from Germany's Oder to the Soviet Caucasus. They are far more agrarian than any of their Occidental neighbors. More than 80 per cent of the Rumanians, for example, make their living by farming. The percentage of peasants is nearly as high in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Even the most industrial of these nations, Hungary, has more peasants than industrial workers.

The problem these nations have in common is widespread and chronic poverty. Fully seven-eighths of the people of Hungary and Rumania are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed—and these are the countries that nature blessed with the very best soil. But each country has its special problems.

The thorniest problem is found in Hungary. She is an anachronistic survival of the era when knighthood was in flower. This is far from obvious to the visitor engrossed in the contemplation of the fabulous charms of Budapest, which provides the very latest twentieth century comforts. But the village of Ráckeve, almost within walking distance of this modern metropolis, discloses how much of Hungary is still sunk in the feudal age.

A few figures tell an eloquent story. No less than a hundred villages belong to Prince Paul Eszterházy, owner of a quarter-million acres. The Catholic Church owns 800,000 acres, and five of its bishoprics have title to fully one-half of this staggering

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total. One of the poorer aristocrats, Prince George Festetich, owns an estate of 69,420 acres while several other magnates, including the rabidly pro-nazi Archduke Albrecht of Hapsburg, average a paltry 40,000 acres. Many of the latifundia are entailed and thus cannot be sold to the land-hungry peasantry. Because of these restrictions entire districts are blighted. The vast estates are often operated at a loss because of bad management and lack of local markets.

The Hungarian situation is best illustrated by a set of comparative figures. While a thousand landholders own 5,000,000 acres of land one million peasants own 2,000,000 acres. Three million poverty-stricken peasants can never make both ends meet. Some 700,000 of them have no land at all while an additional 320,000 own only one acre apiece. Thousands of families can earn no more than a nickel a day in the very heart of the rich humus belt.

America's immigration policy before the first World War partly relieved the intolerable misery of the Magyar peasant. The Budapest Government did not discourage this drainage of its best manpower because the emigrants were the most enterprising and therefore potentially the most dangerous peasants. Also, the steamship companies paid commissions to the Government for every Hungarian fare. After the war, however, America shut the gates tight. Hungary was allotted an annual immigrant quota of less than 900 persons. Peasants found recourse in birth-control. It helped relieve the distress of some sections, but not very much.

In 1920 the Government passed a farcical Land Reform Law in order to give the impression of helping the peasants. It affected only the poorest portions of the large estates. Heavily mortgaged estates sometimes welcomed the reform which lifted the burden of heavy debts off their shoulders by taking the worst of their holdings and compensating them for their "loss." Even so the beneficiaries of this reform were members of the privileged praetorian guard, known as *Vitézek* (heroes).

Land reform became a real issue in Hungary only after the Magyar Nazis entered the political arena and made it one of their propaganda topics. The Land Reform Law of 1939 was then passed, under which an annual allotment of 140,000 acres is leased to the peasants, who acquire the right to turn these leases into title-deeds. The inadequacy of this reform is best demonstrated by the fact that the annual allotment represents only one-half of 1 per cent of Hungary's land holdings. Altogether some 2,000,000 acres are to be disposed of in such a way. Most of the land to be thus expropriated belonged to the Jews. That this is no more helpful to the peasants than was the earlier "reform" is abundantly clear from a statement made recently by Hungary's Premier, Nicholas Kállay, who reported that "680,000 acres of land have been taken from the Jews. Officers and men of the National Army have acquired 130,000 acres, and 20,000 acres have been allotted to the Hungarian Foundation of Racial and Family Defense. The rest of 530,000 acres has not been distributed as yet, because this problem is not so simple. War veterans will have their proper share after the war."

It is instructive to observe how the Hungarian Government has dealt with the ticklish land question on territory which recently reverted to it as a result of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and the division of Transylvania. On these territories the Czechs, Yugoslavs and Rumanians had introduced genuine land reforms. Budapest solved the problem with considerable ingenuity. In the first place, land-titles of non-Magyar settlers were voided summarily. Titles to land acquired through the application of the land reform are to be thoroughly searched. Political reliability may be presumed to be the yardstick. Only land acquired through regular sales is not subject to investigation.

II

HUNGARY'S problem is greater and more acute than that of the other countries of Southeastern Europe. The latter have their own particular difficulties but they have taken more definite steps than Hungary toward a solution. After World War I Rumania was among the first countries of Europe to introduce land reform. This was done despite the fact that the Armistice had not affected the ruling classes which held most of the land. Vast estates were owned by the boyars, the kulaks, the Church and

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the Crown. The position of the peasants who worked this land was no better than that of medieval serfs.

In 1907 the peasants revolted and it took an army of 140,000 soldiers and great loss of life to crush the revolt. The repercussions of the great revolution that had broken out beyond the Dneister, which separates Rumania from Soviet Russia, bid fair to stimulate another uprising, and one of the reasons for the land reform may have been the fear of such a revolution. Another cause lay in the fact that Rumania had doubled her prewar territory. Most of this came from Hungary and was owned by the Magyar aristocrats. Naturally the Rumanians sought some means of reducing the power of these land magnates, and it was decided to break up these estates and divide them among the Rumanian peasants.

Obviously it would have been absurd to let only the peasants of "New Rumania" acquire land. That would have meant penalizing the older stock in the original kingdom. Hence a nation-wide land reform had to be inaugurated, very much against the will of the rich boyars. But they could do nothing in the face of the overwhelming political considerations. On paper the reform was little short of perfection. All the large estates were broken up and the boyars were allowed to retain no more than 500 hectares—some 1,200 acres. Church property, however, was completely broken up and distributed among the peasantry. Each of the peasant families was entitled to an allotment of 12 acres. The law provided that no peasant farm could be larger than 24 acres. This measure was designed to prevent the formation of a caste of Rumanian kulaks by buying up the land from bankrupt peasants.

The peasant had his land now but he had little else. He had no capital to buy seed, fertilizer, draught animals and equipment. He could make no headway, no matter how hard he worked, and fell into the clutches of usurers, in the form of village merchants and the banks in the towns. The peasant tried to borrow money. Soon he found that while nominally he had the land, the boyar again had the money—and it was real. He became a victim to demagoguery and readily joined the murderous Iron Guard of the paranoiac Zelea Codreanu, who offered him rich land and a place next to God in heaven too.

III

THE two adjoining Slavic countries of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have been fighting each other for a long time. Yet there are no two countries so much alike in respect to their landholding system. Both of them were under Turkish rule for about five centuries. The Turks were indolent and cruel taskmasters. But they solved one of the most disturbing problems of this region and thereby placed both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia under eternal obligation. They exterminated all the landed magnates, stamped out the aristocrats. That is why these two countries are potentially perfect specimens of peasant democracy. The Turks had not rooted out the Hungarian and Rumanian aristocracies. That is why Hungary remained a feudal stronghold and corruption was perpetuated in Rumania.

But the Turks left their imprint also on the agriculture of these countries, and for that they have earned no thanks. It is due to Turkish domination that the rural life of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia is so primitive. That is why one finds so many wooden plows there in this age of rural bread factories, and that is why it has taken such a long time for the Bulgarian peasants to change from extensive to intensive farming. The Yugoslav peasant is in some respects even more conservative than his Bulgarian neighbor.

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While Rumania's land problem is very much like Hungary's, that of Yugoslavia is entirely different. In the first place, with the exception of the rich grain country of the north, most of the land is pasture and forest. In normal times the peasant's principal business is raising livestock. The core of Yugoslavia—old Serbia—has long been a real peasant democracy; first for the reason mentioned above and, second, because the mountainous, rugged country encourages individualism. The difficulty lies in the scarcity of good soil. Capital is also lacking and therefore farm equipment is unavailable. Besides, this part of the Balkans is a blind alley and its transportation problems are great.

However, the soil of Bulgaria is even worse. One-third of it is covered with woods while another third is virtually useless. None can say that the Bulgarians have not strained every nerve to make their soil yield all that it can. They have gone into the production of cotton and tobacco, soya beans and sunflowers, hemp and flax; they have created the largest attar of roses industry in the world. They raise cattle and as much grain and fodder as their soil can bear. The Bulgarians are a hardworking lot, sturdy, healthy, ambitious.

IV

THE above brief facts clearly indicate that the agrarian problem in Southeastern Europe requires not only a political but an economic solution. First, of course, the program of reform must abolish the system of latifundia and entailed property wherever that system exists. We must recognize that ultimately this system will be abolished. It is merely a question whether the action will be revolutionary and confiscatory or whether a democratic government will take orderly measures to correct an evil condition that has existed since the Middle Ages.

But it is not sufficient to give the peasant merely a piece of land. Small farms are not paying propositions, as has been clearly demonstrated in Rumania and elsewhere. It does not really make much difference if the peasant dies of hunger as a landless peasant or as the proud owner of a farm. Modern farming has laws of its own, and no amount of back-breaking work with scythe and sickle from sunrise to sunset will enable the peasant to compete with the tractor and combine. American and Canadian wheat could easily undersell Rumanian wheat in the very heart of the Rumanian wheatland if it were not for the tariffs. Modern farming is an industry in which factory processes must be used. Individual peasants simply cannot afford to buy expensive machinery for small strips of land.

To begin with, the sickle-wielding peasant must be turned into a farmer. When this is done, he must band together with his fellow workers in farm cooperatives. That is the way of salvation. Outside help is necessary for the transition period. Capital is needed, above all, and it is not available in their own countries. In their plans for postwar reconstruction the United Nations must make provision for this reform among many others. Either private capital offered to communities or international loans made to the Balkan Governments must furnish the means to implement "Freedom from Want" for these millions of industrious people. The investment will be worth while not merely because it will yield direct profits in reviving this blighted region but also because it will eliminate a major cause of wars.

But this investment will be profitable only if it is accompanied by an educational program that will teach peasant Europe modern methods of agriculture. Most of the farming in this region is extensive and the average yield per acre could be greatly increased by intensifying it. Besides introducing new methods the peasants could also vary their produce. In the past one could travel for hours and see little more than waving fields of grain. Bread being the basic food of poor people, these products were vital. Besides, in those days the overseas granaries were not as well developed as they are today. But today America produces wheat more cheaply than Hungary does. Hence it may be profitable for Hungary to import American wheat in the future. But Hungary could not import vegetables from America. Products that cannot bear the high expense of transportation would be the logical crops for the local markets. Industrial crops, too, could be grown with profit.

In teaching the people of peasant Europe modern methods, the United States and

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Canada would be called upon to perform a missionary work. It is at this point that the education of Europe could be begun. These people could be made to listen to the advice of their overseas fellow workers if they are not made to feel the visitors' superiority.

A higher standard of living prevails in industrialized countries than in the farming ones. The peasants' markets are highly restricted in purely peasant regions because the producers feed themselves locally. Besides, such countries must also face the intensive competition of the industrialized agricultural countries. Their problems are greater in the international trade field because they are at the mercy of the customers who can make their choice among a variety of sellers.

The solution of this aspect of the problem is not far to seek. The hazards of the single-crop economy can be largely eliminated by turning these countries into mixed economic systems—both agricultural and industrial. Incidentally, the problem of winter unemployment among the farmers would be solved. Such countries could enter the lists of international trade, earning the foreign currencies and metals that are indispensable for the smooth operation of the prevailing economic system.

Even after the introduction of all these reforms, peace will shun this region unless the most heroic of all remedies are applied. The Chinese walls of tariffs must be broken down. It would be absurd to set up the system outlined above if this part of Europe were to remain divided in watertight compartments. Nature has made this region an economic unit. The productive facilities of these countries are complementary in many respects. But nationalism is too dynamic a force to vanish at the waving of a magic wand. These nations cannot survive unless they learn to cooperate in the economic field. If they learn to do so the identity of their economic interests is bound to react on their political policies. They will learn not to assert their patriotism by killing one another. They did that in the past because they were hopeless and hungry.

The time must come when this economic union will begin to take shape. It may be called the Danubian Confederation, after the principal river of this region. It may be called the Balkan Confederation, after the name of the peninsula most of these countries occupy. Whatever its name it will be a vital sector of the united front in the final battle for peace and prosperity which may determine the fate of man.

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White Christmas in Russia

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NINETEEN FORTY-THREE

Copernicus, after all,
Were you heretic, thinking the world so small?
Did you measure it by shortness of rods and chains
Or by length of the heaven and hell inside men's brains?

Things vary, Copernicus. How
Would you measure the world now
At this place?: . . . Quiet, cool;
Shadows cradle pool;
Water, silver-serene,
Mirroring merciful green,
Like a fine looking-glass.
Slender white-bird-images pass
Across center in a ring of grass.
They wave slowly from rim to rim;
It is hard to tell if they fly or swim.
Lotus fingers reach up,
Tilt the lip of their cup
Casual and finer
Than deliberate china.

Copernicus, is the feather small?
The air it is in is not,
And the water beyond the water is not,
And the slaughter beyond is not.

Copernicus,
When you shrank the world, I think
It must have been with a sardonic wink
Down long inexplicable time at us.

LeGarde S. Doughty

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An American Soldier's Report

THE BATTLE IS THE PAY-OFF, by Ralph Ingersoll. Harcourt, Brace. 217 *pages.* $2.00

CAPTAIN RALPH INGERSOLL'S book of war in North Africa, *"The Battle Is the Pay-Off,"* is unmistakably the book of an American. It is also unmistakably written by a soldier, a highly literate, discerning soldier—but a soldier nevertheless, specifically an American soldier.

This will be surprising, perhaps, to those who have known Captain Ingersoll only as the very internationalist-minded editor of the New York newspaper, *PM*. Not that anything he has written here indicates an abandonment of the principles for which he fought so valiantly as editor but rather an objective focussing on immediate aims which can be achieved only by physical force. As Captain Ingersoll explains, with rare lucidity for his civilian readers, this is the first lesson for a soldier. One of the most valuable comments he gives—and it should be read by every American who has a relative or friend in the armed services or a war bond in his safe deposit box—is his firsthand explanation of the necessity for the most arduous possible training prior to actual battle.

As a top-notch reporter Ralph Ingersoll has not neglected to include some of the most exciting and personalized accounts yet written of the individual soldier's preparation for battle and the actual fight itself. In this, as well as in a number of other ways, this is one of the best rounded books I have yet seen written by a man in uniform. There is plenty of the discomfort, exhaustion, even downright misery which is an unavoidable part of military life on active service. But all this is written in its proper proportion and, whether deliberately or not, the compensations are likewise given with humor and justice. Particularly disillusioning, perhaps, to those imaginative civilians who like to shudder at the thought of fields of blood is Captain Ingersoll's description of battle. As he himself sums it up, "I think there must come to every soldier, during his first battle, a moment when he looks around and says to himself, 'is this all there is to a battle?' "

All of the objective reporting in *The Battle Is the Pay-Off* is good. Much of it is superlative. But it is true that it might have been written by any first-rate observer from Pausanias down to date. The quality which is peculiarly American in Captain Ingersoll is his complete acceptance of military service for a specific purpose only—to defeat the enemy and regain peace. Like all Americans, Captain Ingersoll regards victory merely as the necessary prelude to a return to a more productive life—a civilian life. That is what marks the difference between most Americans and most Europeans. But there is another thing: few American soldiers, since our war between the states, have been so completely identified, mentally as well as physically, with the cause for which they fight. That fact gives this book far deeper spiritual value than is usual in even the best war books.

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***By* HUBERT FREYN**

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A Milestone in Education

THE AMERICAN STORY OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR CONDITIONS. 335 pages. Published by the Ives Committee.

LEGISLATIVE committees and long detailed reports we have had on many occasions. Therefore when the New York State Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, under the chairmanship of Assemblyman Irving M. Ives, issued its findings and among its recommendations listed the desirable contents of a textbook on industrial and labor relations some of us thought the matter would go no further. That report (*New York State Legislative Document No. 39*), by the way, is well worth reading because it analyzed the way in which industrial and labor relations have been ignored by the great majority of existing college and university courses. However, the Ives Committee went ahead and it has produced a textbook, *The American Story of Industrial and Labor Conditions,* for use in the third and fourth year of high school and in colleges. Thus precedents have been created in more than one direction.

This book of 335 pages, clothbound for hard use and well illustrated, is copyrighted in the name of The People of the State of New York. It traces the colorful history of labor from 1790 forward. Its use is optional but it will undoubtedly influence the curriculum and the teaching in high schools and colleges in the Empire State if not in other parts of the United States. The illustrative material is not as good as in some textbooks which we know—for example the pictorial aids supplied by *Building America*. Some of the later passages, describing all the intricacies of court decisions and labor law, become stodgy and read more like a college text than one that will capture the interest of younger readers. The book does a good job, however, in explaining the whole mechanism for the settlement of labor disputes. It argues rightly that trade union rights must be matched with trade union responsibilities—and, be it noted, many trade union leaders would agree heartily with this. It exposes labor racketeering and the possible absence of internal democracy in unions but it also brings out the tyranny of the injunction, the black list and the labor spy system.

There are some minor flaws. For example on page 29 the book refers to "a new spirit" being forged in the politics of America in 1840: "This spirit was to manifest itself in the will of the North to abolish slavery and later of all sections of the nation to guarantee the rights of the workers through government." One feels that it would have been in place to refer to the incomplete liberation of the Negro and to the fact that unions were forced to wait for a recognized legal status until the New Deal—more than a century after that new spirit was being created.

In the chart on page 53 there is a slight distortion. The Congress of Industrial Organizations was not started in 1935. The membership of the United Automobile Workers of America is given at a higher figure for 1941 than the membership the union claimed at its recent convention in 1943—the peak of its strength. The reference to the I.W.W. on page 54 makes it appear that this body preceded the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1895. The reference to the incorporation of unions (page 151) is all too brief and makes no reference to the weighty arguments of Joseph Padway and Emil Schlesinger against that proposal.

More fundamentally the book can be criticized for an undiscriminating, unreflective idolatry of the phrase "free enterprise." This is expressed on several occasions and the collective authors write as follows (pages 85-86):

> Despite the effects of the depression on the stability of our economy, most Americans continued to hold to the principle of free enterprise. We were willing to regulate industry and finance when it seemed necessary to protect the general welfare. We did not, however, abandon our belief in the superiority of an economic system based on private property and individual initiative.
>
> Just as in the political sphere, our economic ideas were challenged by the alternative economic systems of Communism, Fascism, and Nazism. Both the beliefs and practices of these alternative systems repudiate the basic principles of our economy. Although they have adopted the techniques and achievements of capitalism, such as mass-production and large scale corporate organization and management, they use them within a framework of complete state control of industry.
>
> One reason for the acceptance of Communism, Fascism, and Nazism by the people of Russia, Italy, Germany (and other countries) is to be found in their loss of faith in the continued efficiency of free enterprise. These alternative systems challenge us in this country to find ways of making our own economic life more effective in terms of the general welfare. We have not lost faith in the values of private initiative and private ownership of property. In a world in which both our political and our economic ideas are being challenged, we are determined that our political and economic practices

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shall be more efficient and just than those of these competing systems.

One feels that good teachers should be less static in their approach. Have the authors of the book ever defined free enterprise? Would the subsidies given to the early railroad companies be free enterprise? What about the tariff aid given to build up the trusts—which latter organizations receive only scant reference in the book? Is the TVA private or public enterprise? If Walter Lippmann recognizes the need for an "administered economy" should not high school students and college students realize that the functions of the modern state cannot be confined to keeping the ring for warring contestants? Is there not a growing army of social-minded technicians who do exercise technical skills and enterprise and initiative in the running of government-operated agencies?

The authors of the textbook would do well to read what Lewis Corey has to say about the future of the war plants erected by public money. Corey, writing in the fall number of the *Antioch Review*, concludes that "the public corporation is the only form of enterprise that can restore economic freedom in the monopoly field—*free enterprise in institutional public forms.*" What about the work of the government in education and in public health? What about, indeed, the production of this textbook? In the light of the basic idea of this very textbook the private textbook houses and their distributors have a right to complain that the taxpayers' money has been used in unfair competition against them. With all the inquiries now being promoted in our city and state politics, will not Merwin K. Hart start an inquiry into the cost of the Ives Committee and investigate the printing bills incurred? In other words I am suggesting that this textbook itself, in doing an excellent job, demonstrates that in certain instances public enterprise can be beneficially developed.

In the past the schools have too often been the appendage of big business. May I quote from Howard K. Beale's book, *Educational Freedom and Democracy:*

> In their attitudes toward teachers and the schools, a close parallel exists between the great slave power of yesteryear and big business of today. Then there were commercial conventions of slaveholders. Now there are chambers of commerce and associations of utility men and manufacturers. The business of that day was badly organized and poor in ready cash. Business today is highly efficient and able to throw huge sums into the control of teachers. Slaveholders operated crudely and by vituperation. Big business today works subtly and with finesse. The teacher's position, however, is much the same under twentieth-century owners of industry and nineteenth-century owners of slaves. Both look upon the schools as instruments of indoctrination with ideas that serve the current order, help preserve it, and increase its prosperity. Both look upon teaching, not as development of thinking individuals with critical judgments, but as a passing on of facts and attitudes and a development of emotional loyalties to things as they are. The slaveholder did not want his slave taught to read and write because it would incite him to insurrection; the captain of industry wants vocationally trained workmen and clerks, but does not want "radical tendencies" put into the people's heads. Neither can brook criticism of its fundamental tenets. Both put pressure on teachers and on textbooks with "subversive" tendencies, abolitionism in the one case, socialism in the other. Most teachers under both systems reflect community attitudes. Those who do not are forced to maintain silence on really vital subjects. Textbooks are criticized and then changed to please the ruling power of the day. Both resort to repression instead of reason to carry their points. Both call names when argument fails.

The publication of this book, which we hope will receive wide use not only in New York but in other states, proves that the school must mirror the changing labor-capital relationships. The trade unions are prepared to pass forward from the psychology of conflict into the psychology of cooperation. They are rightly asking to be treated as equal partners. They are prepared to face social changes in the functions of political government. This textbook is a milestone in the field of education, showing the advances which we have made in labor-capital relationships.

MARK STARR

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Comprehending War and Peace

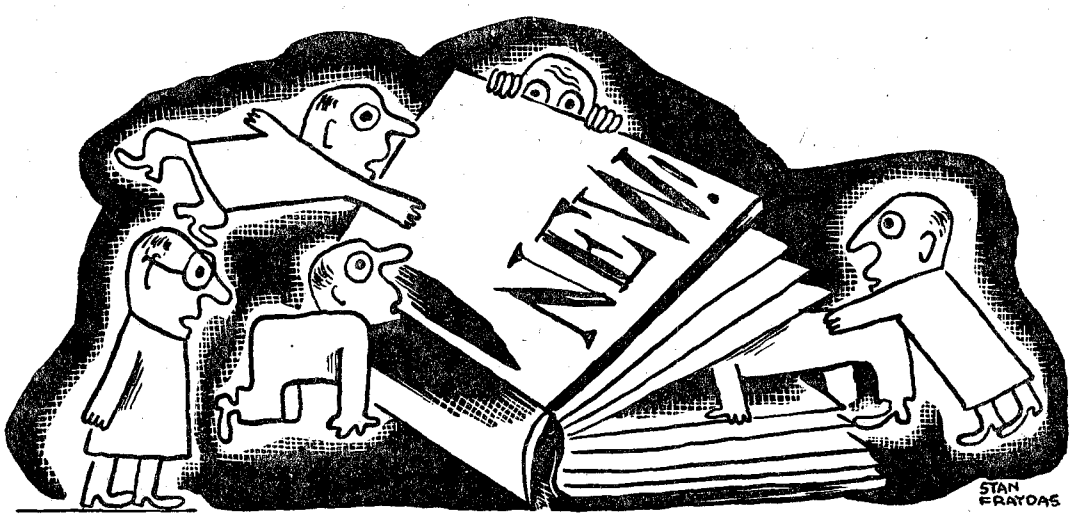
MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY. Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler, edited by Edward Mead Earle. xi + 553 pages. Princeton University Press. $3.75

POPULAR understanding of strategy has always been difficult to achieve in the United States. It is difficult to explain this, for, although we are not a militaristic people, war has been a recurrent theme in our history. Moreover most of our early national leaders had a profound understanding of strategic matters and stimulated popular discussion of them. Yet twentieth-century America was plunged into the second World War without really understanding the nature of modern strategy, as is proved by the bitter debate over foreign policy from the fall of France to Pearl Harbor. And it has taken global conflict to send us to our atlases and globes in a belated attempt to grasp some rudiments of strategy. Many have been armchair strategists but few of us have comprehended very deeply what strategy is all about.

This book will not by itself remedy this defect, but correcting it will be made vastly easier because of its appearance. It is unique in literature about war in that it deals with war as a whole—or rather with the fundamental principles underlying war (with their evolution over the past five centuries) and with the nature of modern strategy. The volume is the outgrowth of the seminar on military affairs conducted by the Institute for Advanced Study by Edward Mead Earle. It is the product of the efforts of twenty specialists—military and naval historians, economists, political scientists and geographers. In producing it they have performed a patriotic service of first-rate importance. The country's thanks are due them for it.

The book is divided into five unequal sections. The first deals with the origins of modern war from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This is followed by a short section on the nineteenth-century interpreters of Napoleon. Section III, the longest in the book, covers the developments during the period from the nineteenth century to the first World War; Section IV that from the first to the second World War; and the final section covers the strategy of sea and air war. Each of the different chapters is contributed by a different author except for the two by Professor Earle.

Certain well-defined themes run through the story from Machiavelli to Hitler: the war of maneuver *vs.* the war of position; the relationship between war and social institutions and between economic strength and political power; psychology and morale as weapons of war; the professional army *vs.* the militia. But Professor Earle points out that "national factors in strategy frequently are the determining factors" and from this concludes that "since 1870 the Germans have thought in terms of aggressive warfare and military annihilation of the enemy, the British (and more recently the French) in terms of defensive warfare and the long-run consequences of economic attrition." Events since 1933 afford ample proof of this, as well as



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of the truth (all but forgotten by Americans in recent decades) that "strategy . . . is not merely a concept of wartime, but is an inherent element of statecraft at all times."

The book has many merits: the basic concept of strategy around which it is built—that art "which so integrates the policies and armaments of the nation that the resort to war is either rendered unnecessary or is undertaken with the maximum chance of victory"; its scholarship (also a weakness); its scope and organization and the competence of its contributors; finally, its potentially high value to the American people. The shortcomings are few and are those usually associated with any symposium—the varied style, diverse chapter organization and the failure of some of the treatments to measure up to the high standard of others. The biggest drawbacks are the length and the scholarly character of the volume; it is too long and too academic for popular consumption.

Because of their high quality certain chapters warrant special mention. Among them are the two by Professor Earle, dealing respectively with the economic foundations of military power and with the Soviet concepts of war. Mr. DeWeerd's chapter, on the emergence of the civilian in strategy, approaches (but does not answer) the central problem of strategy in democracies—the relative authority and responsibility of the political and military leaders. It is the most baffling problem the United Nations will face on victory day—how to adapt the wartime strategy of the United Nations to the peacetime strategic requirements of global police. Chapters 18 and 19 are also of special interest for the light they throw on the ideas which have governed the use of Italian and Japanese naval power, both historically and during the present war.

There is certainly no other single volume of equal value to which the alert American can turn for education in strategy. With the books so admirably classified and appraised in the bibliographical notes it provides the material for filling in the gap in our popular understanding of strategy. Thus this volume will contribute to a broader comprehension of war and peace among the whole people—"the only safe repository of the national security of a democratic state."

D. C. B.

"A concise, orderly and readable collection of up-to-date facts about India . . . covers all fields of development."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

Report on INDIA

By T. A. Raman

Author of WHAT DOES GANDHI WANT?

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A New Service for Our Readers

FROM among the books that have been reviewed in our pages during the last six months, the Editors have chosen a number that deserve the attention of those who seek to know the background, issues, and possible results of this war. The characterizations are taken from the reviews that appeared in our columns. They can be obtained directly from FREE WORLD, at a discount of 10 per cent, by filling out the coupon below, and they will be sent postage free upon receipt of the coupon and the price of the book.

THE WORLD OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS, by Sumner Welles. 121 pages. Columbia University Press; $1.75. " 'The World of the Four Freedoms' is a collection of twelve speeches made by Under Secretary Welles from September, 1939, up to February, 1943. Even for those who have closely followed Mr. Welles's thinking through his speeches, this book is extremely valuable because it summarizes essential ideas on world affairs . . . the publication of 'The World of the Four Freedoms' at this moment is particularly opportune and will encourage all those who have learned the lesson of the past, and who have understood that national self-interest, in the truest sense of the word, is identical with the interest of the world."

THE CENTURY OF THE COMMON MAN, by Henry A. Wallace. 96 pages. Reynal and Hitchcock; $1.50. ". . . he sets down not solely his own testament of faith, but a covenant for all men of good will and clear vision. I cannot believe that anyone with pretensions to an understanding of our time and its problems will fail to read this book."

THE WORLD AFTER WAR, by Henry Bamford Parkes. 233 pages. Crowell; $2.50. "This is a cool, calm, starkly realistic book. Those who think in terms of much-mouthed but ill-served ideals will find it coldly scientific. Nevertheless, it is probably the best prelude to post-war planning that has been written, simply because it discards probabilities and considers the problem solely in terms of possibilities."

ITALY FROM WITHIN, by Richard Massock, viii + 400 pages. Macmillan; $3.00. "Now that the events of the war have suddenly placed Italy in a position of immediate interest and importance, this account of Il Duce's road to war will meet the needs of people who may want first-rate journalistic interpretations of fascist Italy."

THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPEAN LABOR, by Adolf Sturmthal. 389 pages. Columbia University Press; $3.50. "In writing a critical history of the policies of the European labor movement since the last war, Mr. Sturmthal has given us a useful and urgently needed book . . . the volume is valuable for having gone further toward explaining some of the reasons for the failure of European democracy than many of the current books on the subject. From his critical examination of the past, labor, and particularly American labor, could learn much of profound value for the future."

THE FIGHTING FRENCH, by Raoul Aglion. 315 pages. Holt; $3.00. "The greatest service of the Fighting French was to make the issues too plain to be hidden in any amount of compromise or cowardice or despair—and so, not only to save France, but to help powerfully in the saving of freedom everywhere."

EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND THE FUTURE, by G. D. H. Cole. 233 pages. Macmillan; $2.00. "Mr. Cole's book is a brilliant description of the new socialist school of thought in England that wants to discard the old social democratic policy and substitute immediate steps toward socialism . . . it is a brilliant and well-written book."

GERMANY'S MASTER PLAN. THE STORY OF INDUSTRIAL OFFENSIVE, by Joseph Borkin and Charles A. Welsh. xviii + 339 pages. Duell; $2.75. "Modest in size but tremendous in importance, this book tells how Germany played on the ingenuousness of America's business leaders in developing strategic materials and how the nazi philosophy of *Herrenvolk* was thus buttressed economically for total war and world conquest. It also poses the question of cartel control, a problem grounded in the relationship between personal freedom and foreign policy. It is a book which shocks by its disclosures and baffles by its implications."

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Fighting for the Future

HOME FRONT MEMO, by Carl Sandburg. 310 pages. Harcourt Brace; $3.00

DON'T let the title confuse you. Carl Sandburg never wrote a memo in his life. When he writes something it stays written and it isn't any memo. If you start this book thinking that that's what you are going to read you'll end up flat on your back like a fighter who forgets about the second half of a one-two punch. This is a loaded book, a dangerous book, an arsenal of a book. And no matter who you are, where you are hiding or what sort of camouflage you're wearing this season, if you're against what Sandburg is fighting for you'll be hit and hit hard.

There are 146 entries in this work-book: essays, poems, reports, speeches, broadcasts, fables, profiles, book reviews, plain straight talk and a picture section. They form an interim report which might have been titled *Carl Sandburg: The War Years.* He is fighting for the future, for the things that make men great, and affirming the qualities that make men of good will unconquerable.

Carl Sandburg trusts the American language and, because he trusts it, it lets him say anything he wants to say. And when he wants to reach everybody in this country who reads the written word in any medium, or listens to the spoken word on the radio or from the platform, he knows how to do it; his technique never lets him down. This is his fight and he's throwing everything he has into it. The Pulitzer Prize historian went back to the deadlines, the microphones, the forums, the radio programs and the one-night stands across the continent. He went in like the cool seasoned campaigner that he is, taking careful aim, making every shot count. Far more people have been influenced by the words in this book than will probably ever own the book. That's the way Sandburg wanted it but it's too bad because, like everything he writes, these far-from-fugitive pieces should be read, reread and well remembered.

The photographic section at the end of the book contains pictures of the magnificent and incomparably exciting Road to Victory show, created by Edward Steichen and Carl Sandburg, which opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in May of 1942.

This volume is dedicated to Stephen Vincent Benèt

> who knew the distinction between pure art and propaganda in the written and spoken word. He could sing to give men music, consolation, pleasure. He could intone chant or prayer pointing the need for men to act. He could illustrate the code and creed of those writers who seek to widen the area of freedom for all men, knowing that men of ideas vanish first when freedom vanishes. He saw that a writer's silence on living issues can in itself constitute a propaganda of conduct leading toward the deterioration or death of freedom. He wrote often hoping that men would act because of his words. He could have been Olympian, whimsical, seeking to be timeless amid bells of doom not to be put off.

This could be truly said of Carl Sandburg, and Steve Benèt would have been the first to say it.

KEITH W. JENNISON

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A Check List of Forthcoming Books on International Affairs

BLITZKREIG AND BLUFF, by Erwin Lessner, Putnam. Major Lessner was an officer in the Austrian Army. His book takes the reader through the history of the nazi military machine, discusses the nazi bogyman technique of blitzkreig and bluff and points out the deterioration of German strategy under Hitlerism.

THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, edited by Harold F. Williamson. Prentice-Hall. Twenty-six authors, experts in economics, sociology, history, industry and finance contributed to this symposium on the economic development of the United States. The book covers the major fields of economic history: early settlements, capital and labor, agriculture, foreign trade, transportation, expansion, industrial organization, money and banking, investment market and public finance.

THE DANUBE BASIN AND THE GERMAN ECONOMIC SPHERE, by Antonin Basch. Columbia University Press. An analysis of the Danubian economy, especially since the crisis of 1931. Dr. Basch deals with the problem of an organization of the Danube basin that will provide a balanced economy of the small nations in the interests of the future economic stability of Europe. He points out that Germany's New Order was unable to resolve the basic difficulties of the Danube basin and that the solution to the whole problem must be reached in a world setting.

AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC, by the Australian Institute of International Affairs. Princeton University Press. A discussion of the currents of thought and opinion in Australia today. Written by men in Australian political and economic fields, it goes into the relationship of Australia to the Asiatic peoples and shows the economic and political importance of the United States to that relationship.

THE BALTIC RIDDLE, by Gregory Meiksins. Fisher. The story of the role played by Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania on the stage of European and international politics and an analysis of the problems which must be solved at the end of the war.

TRIUMPH OF TREASON, by Pierre Cot. Ziff-Davis. Pierre Cot speaks of the trial of the leaders of France before the Vichy tribunal and of the damage done to Vichy and the New Order by this farce. He tells of the tragedy of France and his aspirations for her future.

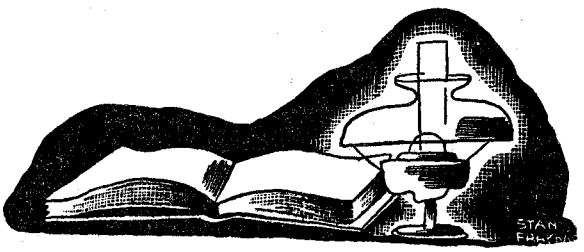
VIA DIPLOMATIC POUCH, by Douglas Miller. Didier. The confidential reports the author sent via diplomatic mail pouch to the United States Government, together with an analysis of Germany's economic and political background that throws into prominence our postwar relations with Germany. Foreword by William L. Shirer.

●

To Win the Peace

CAN WE WIN THE PEACE? by D. F. Fleming. 112 pages. Broadman Press

THIS volume, a series of lectures brought together in book form, is too brief to go below the surface of the subjects it touches on in its four chapters: "Shall We Lose the Peace Again?" "Can We Create a Workable Economic Democracy?" "Ways Out of War" and "Steps toward Peace." It serves a purpose as useful, however, as that of other statements urging the citizens of this country to align themselves against reactionary forces—forces which hope to keep the United States from participation in some form of world organization, which want to retreat into nationalistic autarchy and would refuse to collaborate with Russia. The greater the popular pressure upon our Senate the more remote the danger that the United States will again jeopardize its moral power by turning its back upon its responsibilities as a member of the community of nations.



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Partisan of the Partisans

MY NATIVE LAND, by Louis Adamic. Harper and Brothers. 507 pages. $3.75

IN a time when it is easier to flourish words about the world order we want than to find concrete roads out of our present chaos Louis Adamic has taken his native land as a center from which to discuss European revolution and counter-revolution. From a few personal sketches which set an uneasy mood for the Yugoslavia of 1932 the story moves swiftly to "The Nightmare": Yugoslavia invaded and occupied; today's terror and resistance and factionalism; yesterday's internal fascism and external appeasement. Back and forth across the history of the past twenty-five years the author moves, always against the reminder that "we are immersed in a revolutionary process," always against the conviction that his country's fate and hope are tied up with a general resolution of the political chaos in Europe.

Within these broad lines of conviction his material falls logically—and often tempestuously—into place. One theme permeates the book: on the one hand the perilous chasm between Mikhailovich—the "patriot blunderer and blind agent of amoral interests that had been around for over one thousand years"; and on the other hand the Liberation Front, with Tito at its head—"a confluence of the hot blood of the country" which "evolved into a fighting idea and program in tune with South-Slavic traditions and natural instincts" and eventually became a "crudely constructed political raft which, tossing on the turbulent and bloody flood-waters of revolutionary resistance, had room for Communists and non-Communists alike."

Around Mikhailovich and Tito converge the elements representing revolution and counter-revolution throughout Europe as well as within Yugoslavia. For the old order and the new world head up in Mikhailovich (about whom British industrial interests and certain leading British and American papers have cast a halo) and Tito (who has received the support of the Russian Government).

Mr. Adamic's estimate of Tito's strength and Mikhailovich's weakness is surprisingly temperate. In condemning the old British and French balance-of-power game in the Balkans he acknowledges the new spirit of anti-imperialism running through British public opinion today. Nevertheless he warns that if the United States and Great Britain erect an anti-Russian cordon sanitaire of small states the Soviet Union will feel compelled to extend its boundaries to a line running from the Baltic to Trieste. For him the Balkan countries' hope of independence (from the machinations of the great Western powers and from their own excessive nationalisms) lies in membership in a large federation or confederation of Eastern and Southeastern European states.

It is unfair to Mr. Adamic to single out one theme to the exclusion of others. There are interesting illustrations, groups of photographs and political cartoons (reprinted from various sources); there is an historical section, in which the contemporary reader may bog down but which may well give the volume more permanent interest than the pages on contemporary horrors; there is a detailed account of Prince-Regent Paul's betrayal of his country to the Nazis and the repudiation of the Pact of Vienna under popular pressure a few anxious days later. There is the immediacy of the material—for much of the story of "the Nightmare" reached Mr. Adamic from underground sources.

The most important factor for postwar European peace—and no peace can be durable which does not embrace the Balkans—will be Anglo-American-Soviet collaboration. But had Yugoslavia not said "No!" on March 27, 1941, Hitler might have swept across Europe; there would have been no peace but a nazi peace.

> The Yugoslav "No!" . . . forced the Nazi high command to delay the invasion of Russia, giving the Red Army five weeks' more preparation. By helping to stretch that campaign into the winter, it contributed to Hitler's vast Russian debacle. It also stiffened the attitude of Turkey and gave the British a chance to save the Middle East by gaining control over Syria and Iraq.
>
> Very probably that emphatic "No!" affected Japan's foreign minister, Matsuoka, then Hitler's guest. It may have delayed Japan's attack on the United States and given President Roosevelt precious months to key up the American war industry.

RUTH E. CAMPBELL

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State of New York } ss.: for October 1st, 1943.
County of New York }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jean J. Newman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Free World and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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SEAL

(My commission expires March 30, 1944.)

(Signed) Jessie Seidenberg
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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

On March 20, 1939 *WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS* was nominated Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Two weeks later he was confirmed by the Senate and took his seat on the bench on April 17, 1939.

A man versed in international law, a former professor at Columbia and Yale Universities, he had recently taken his place among those who insist that justice be done, that each individual enjoy all of the rights conferred by the Constitution. The author of such technical books as *Corporate Reorganization* and *Losses, Liabilities and Assets* has never restricted himself to his particular field. Formerly a private in the American Army he has retained his sense of humanity and has kept in close contact with the common man. It is this confidence in the common man that he voices in the article we publish, an article based on a speech delivered in San Francisco.

We received an article on the world food situation from *MORDECAI EZEKIEL* at the moment when 240 delegates from forty-three nations were in Atlantic City discussing relief plans for the liberated countries.

For the past ten years Economic Advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture, *MORDECAI EZEKIEL* (who participated in the discussions of the Third Free World Congress) is the author of numerous books and studies on agricultural and economic topics. As a specialist in statistics he was one of the men who drafted the Agricultural Act.

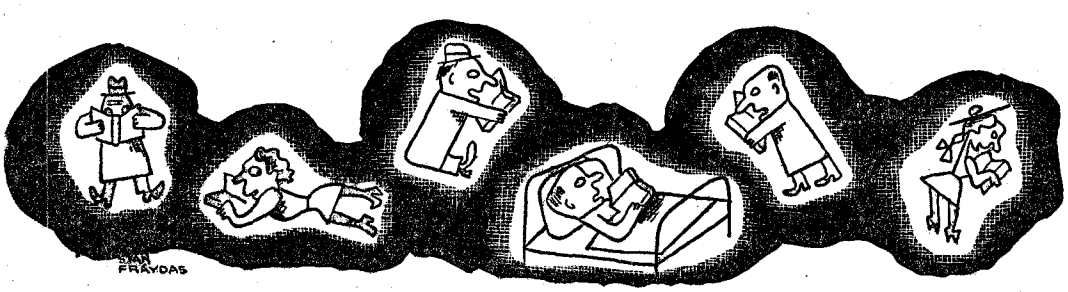
JOHN H. HUMPHREYS has been Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain since its revival in 1905. By making a comparative study of methods of election, their results and the principles on which executive governments have been formed, this Society has helped to perfect representative governments. In this second and final article on the subject the author expresses his views about a problem the solution to which is vital for the future of democracy.

EMIL LENGYEL was born in Budapest, Hungary, and up to the outbreak of the war was an active newspaperman and correspondent in the Balkans. He is the author of *The Danube* and *Turkey* and is at present on the teaching staff of the School of Education at New York University.

Again we say goodby to one of the leading members of FREE WORLD's Honorary Editorial Board. *HENRI LAUGIER,* formerly Professor of Science at the Sorbonne and famous as a political and scientific figure in the French Republic (Chef de Cabinet of the Foreign Ministry and also of the Ministry of National Education under several governments) has left the United States to take over the post of Rector of the University of Algiers. Just before his departure he sent FREE WORLD his "Farewell to America."

Since the publication of *SIGRID UNDSET's* first novel in 1907 she has written a number of novels and historical essays, and in 1929 she received the Nobel Prize for literature. There is another honor she is perhaps even prouder of —Hitler banned her books in Norway and Germany in 1940. During the brief Norwegian campaign she worked for the Norwegian censorship bureau as broadcaster and journalist. After the Norwegian Army was overwhelmed she escaped and in the autumn of 1940 reached America. Of her three children, one son (who is at present serving in the Free Norwegian Army in Scotland) survives.

This Norwegian writer knows at first hand what the war criminals did to her country. The article we present shows why this great author sees in their punishment the promise of a juster world.



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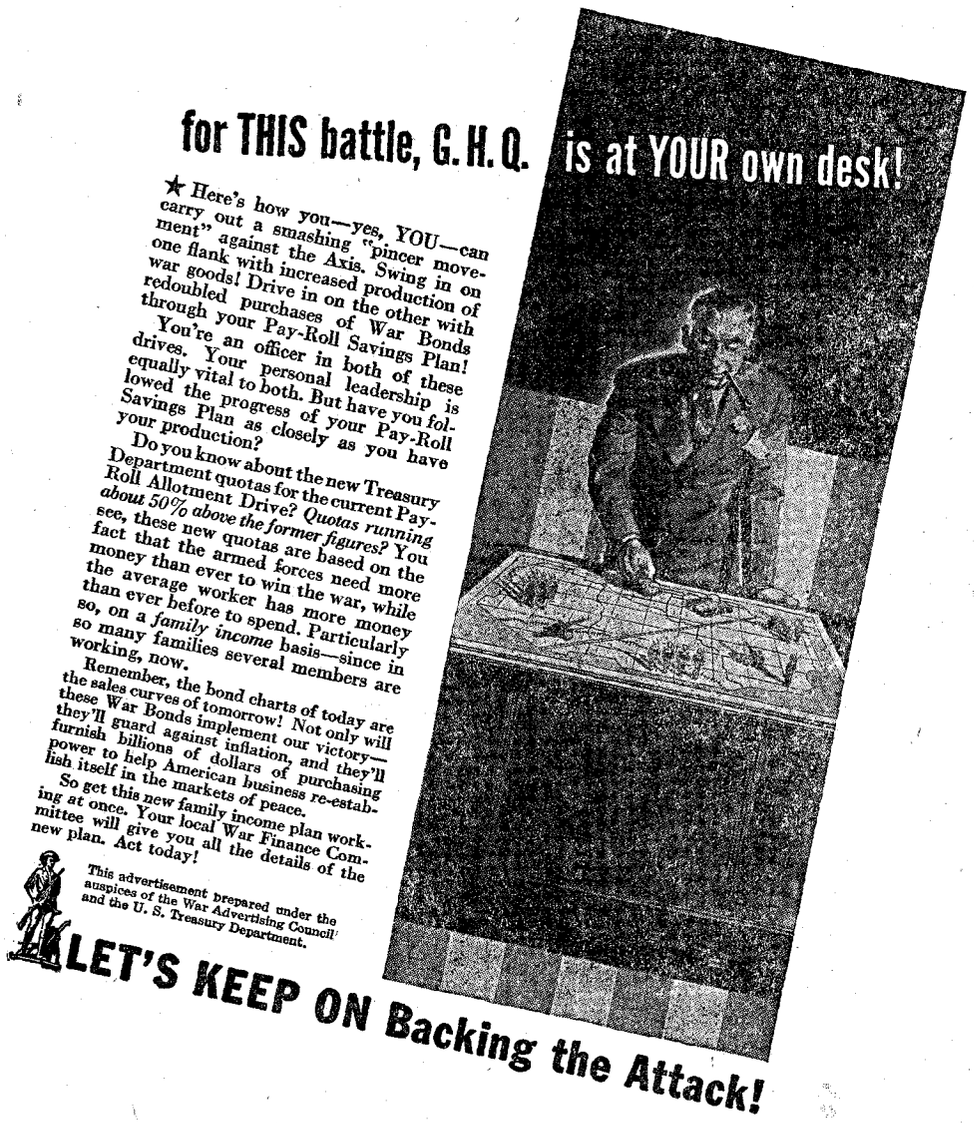

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